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x Hereford Cathedral

Proportions of The Parthenon

Sepulchral monuments in English Churches

Architecture of Cathedrals of England

Common Sense of Art

Auster Friars Church

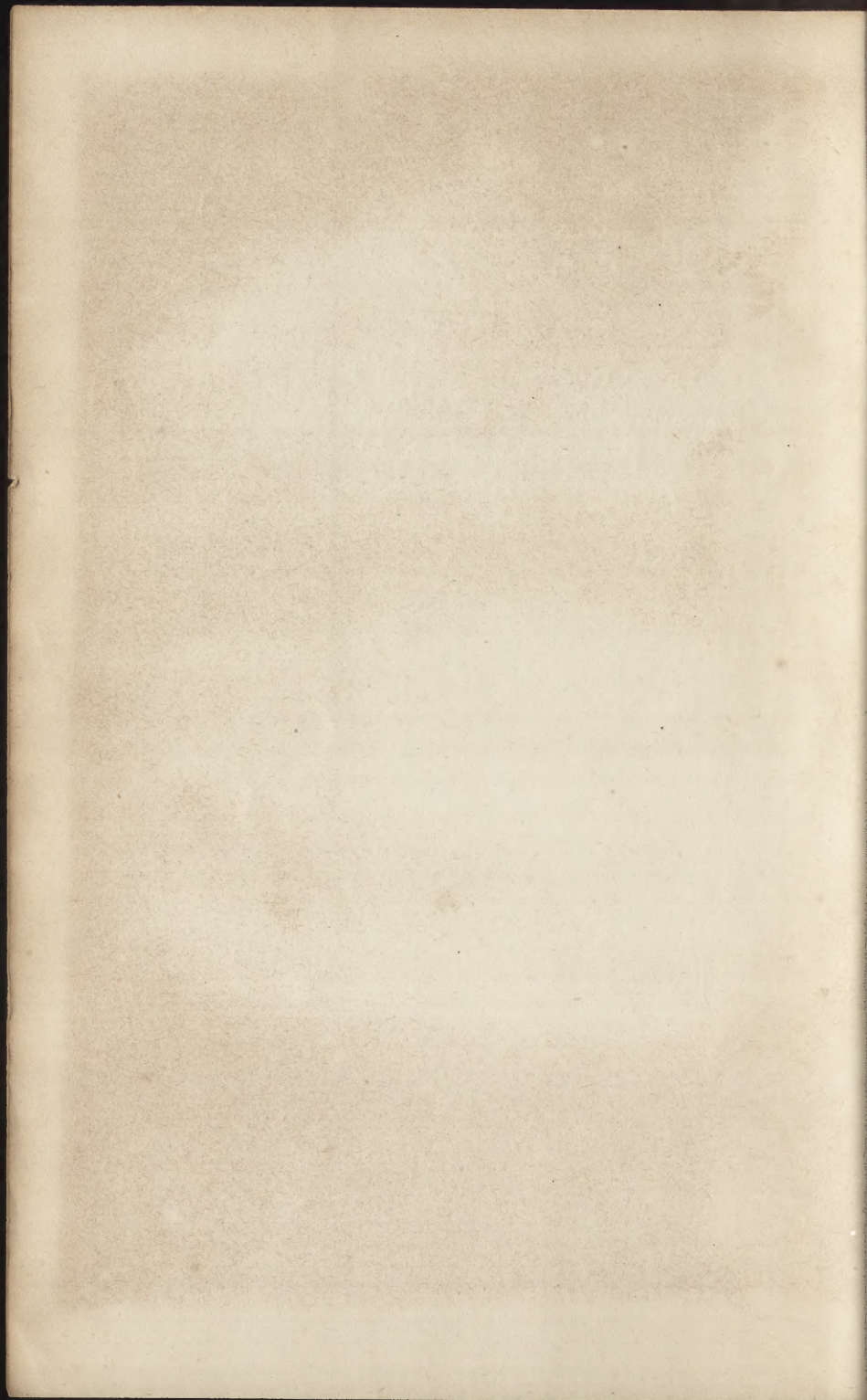
Holy Trinity Church, Ely

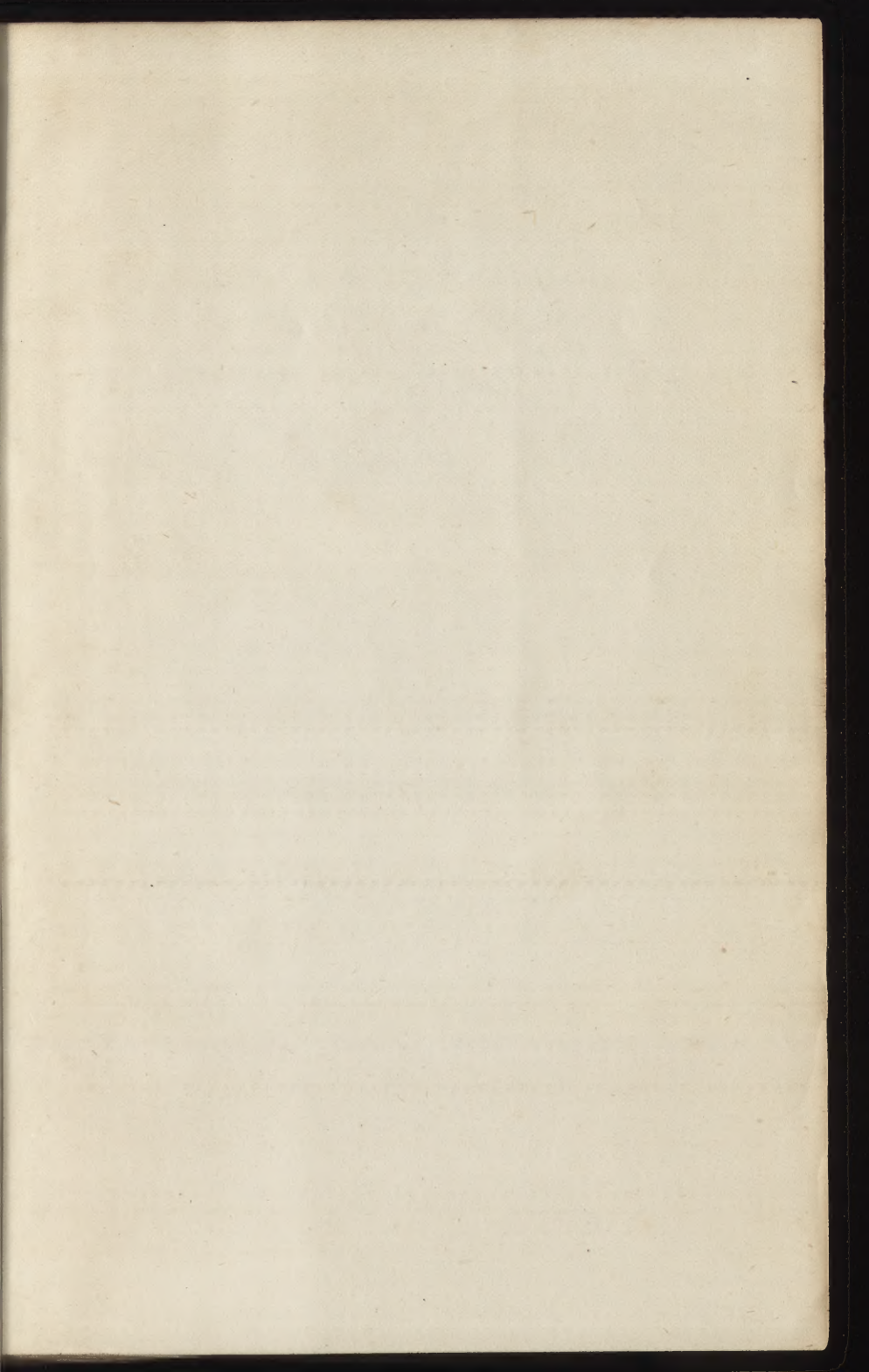
Wayside Chapels (Chantry on Wakefield Bridge)

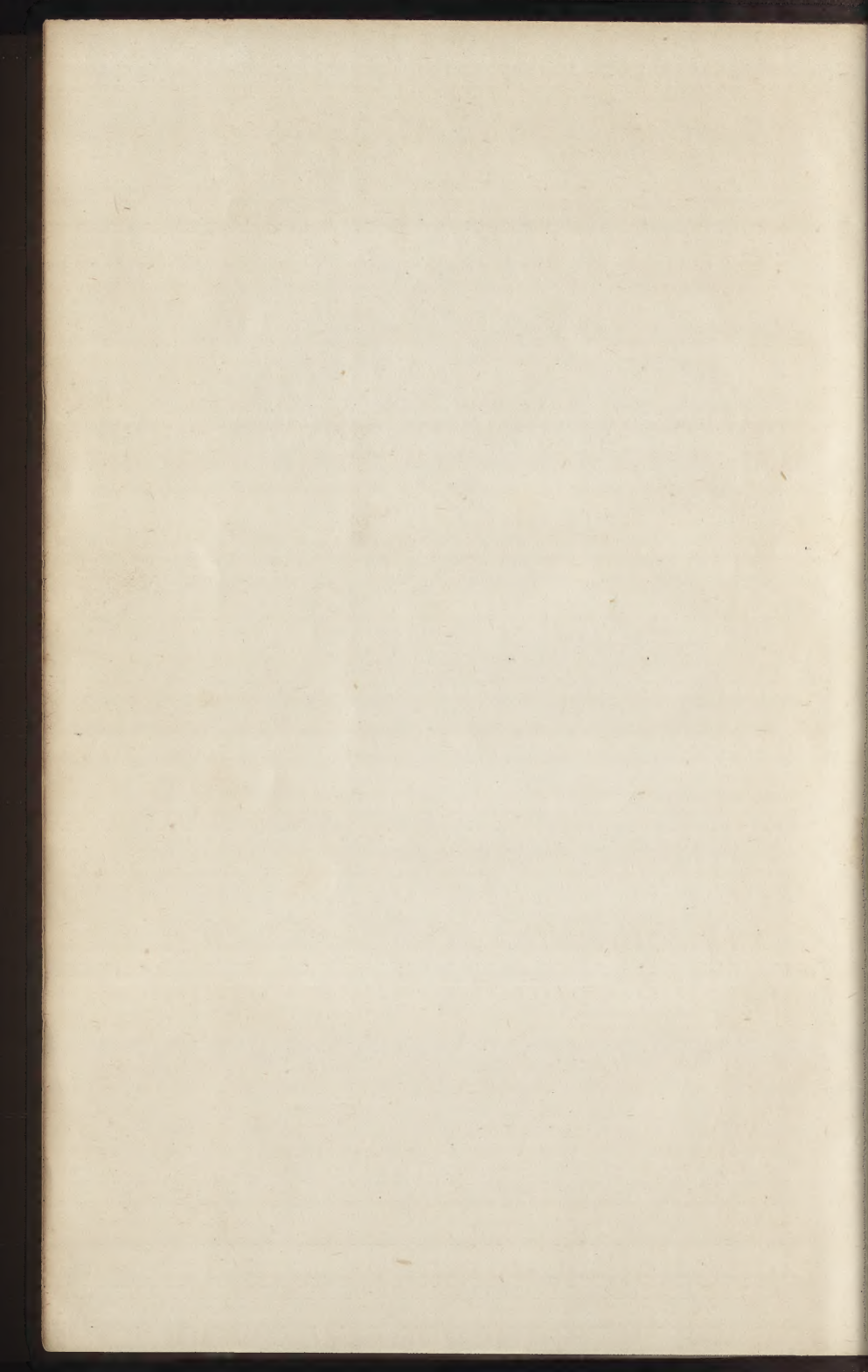
Battle of Wakefield

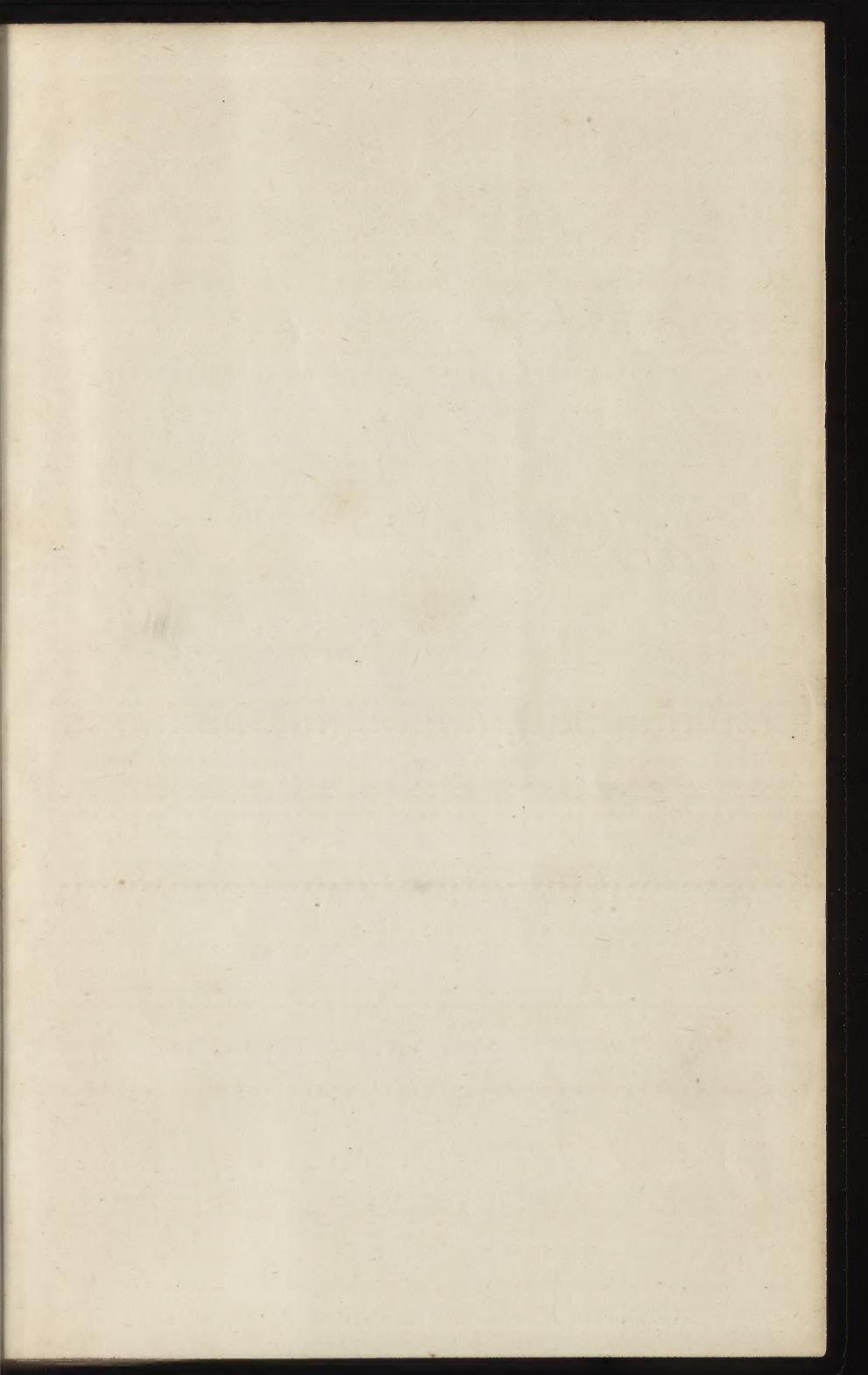
Additional Cathedrals - suggested

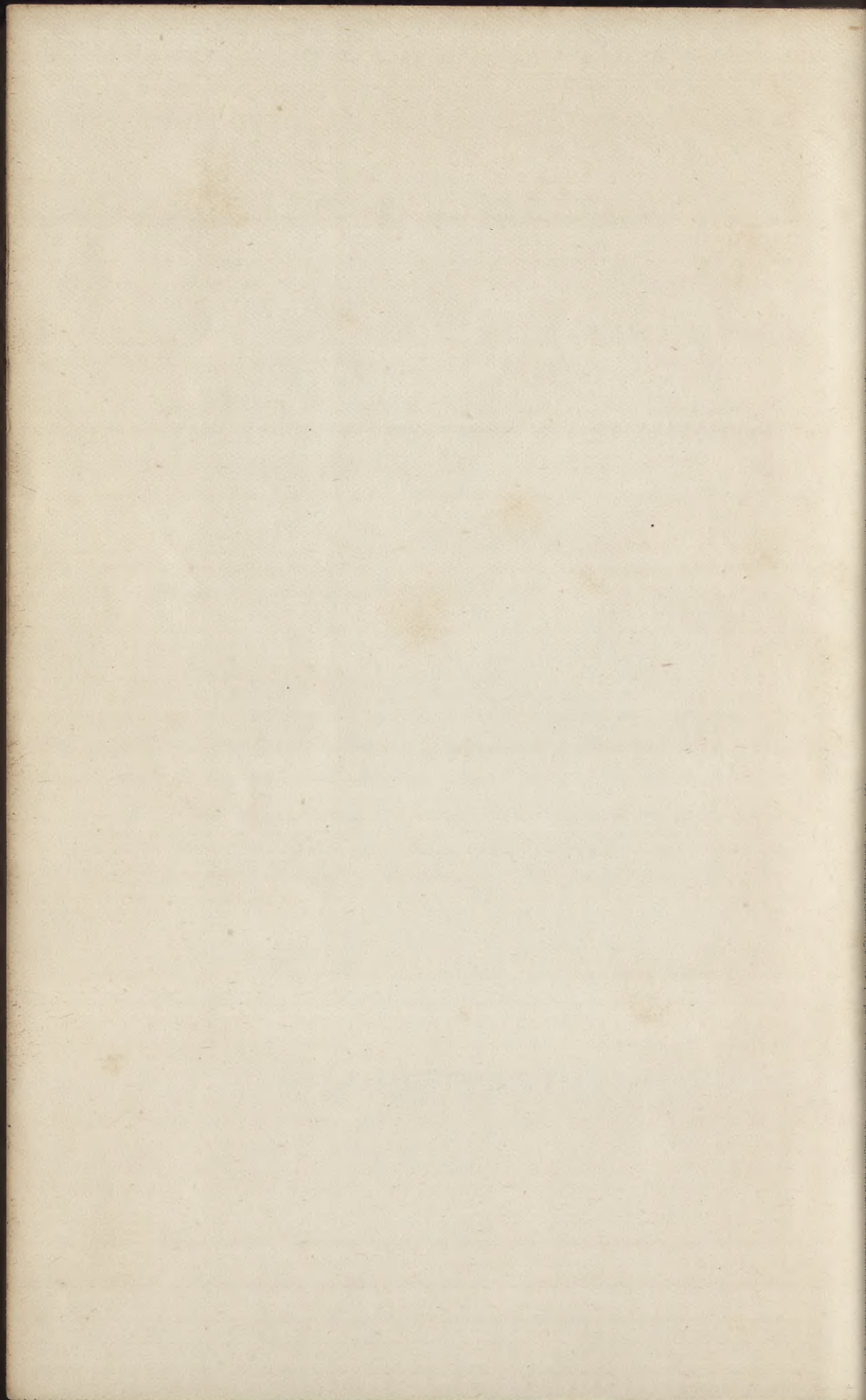
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R E P O R T

OF A

SURVEY OF THE DILAPIDATED PORTIONS

OF

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL,

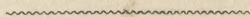
IN THE YEAR 1841 :

BY

THE REV. ROBERT WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S.,

OF CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

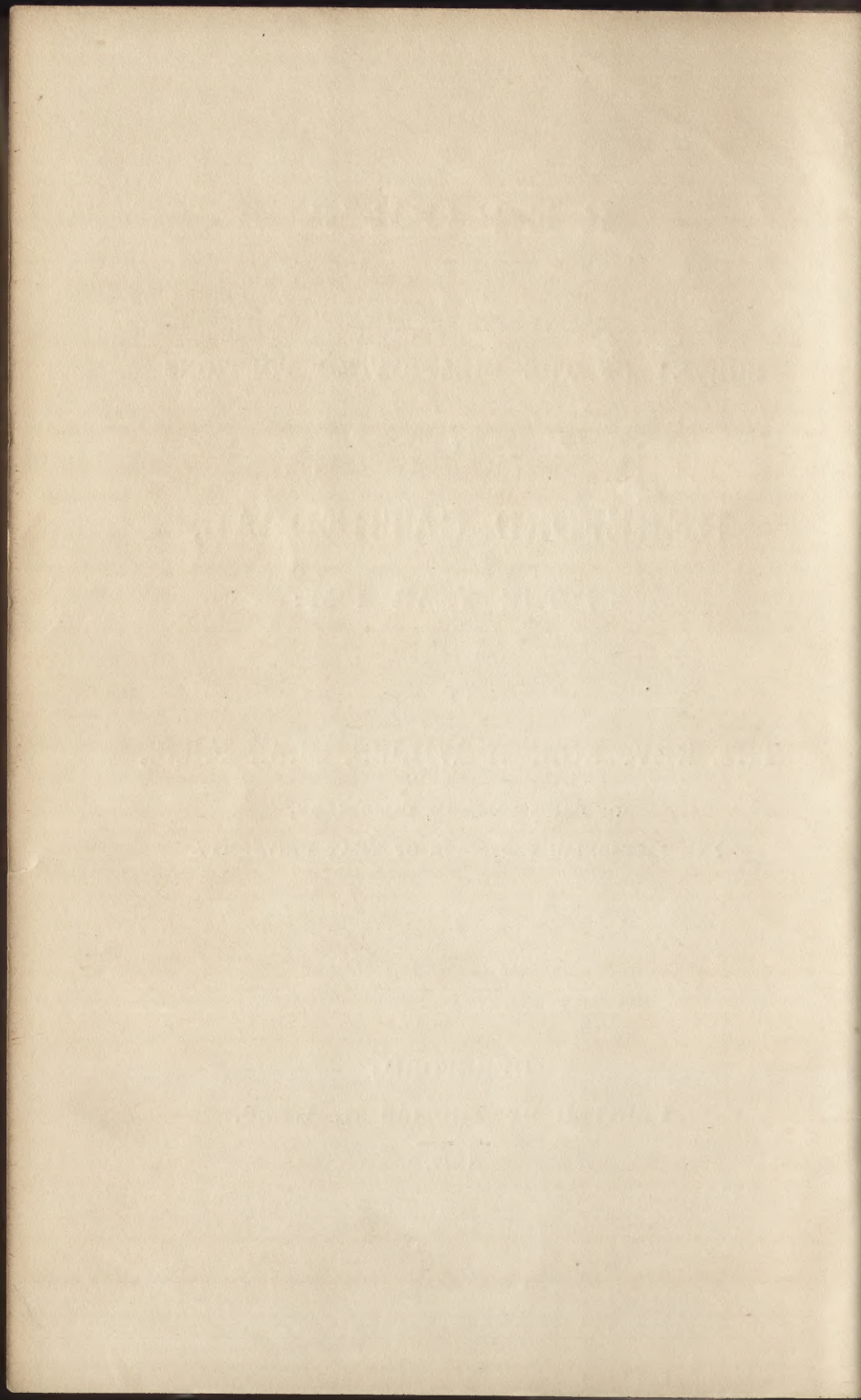
AND JACKSONIAN PROFESSOR OF THAT UNIVERSITY.



HEREFORD :

PRINTED BY THOMAS N. WEBB,

1842.



The DEAN and CHAPTER of HEREFORD, in giving to the Public this interesting and valuable report, cannot refrain from expressing their thankfulness to the LORD BISHOP of HEREFORD, for having suggested a reference to Mr. PROFESSOR WILLIS, as a measure which could not be otherwise than satisfactory to all parties, and for his kind intervention in obtaining the PROFESSOR's consent. To that gentleman they cannot adequately express the sense they entertain of the zeal and ability which he evidenced in the investigation of their venerable Cathedral, and the obligation which they gratefully acknowledge for the laborious and indefatigable attention which he devoted to it.

Hereford, March 1, 1841.

Cambridge, September 22, 1841.

GENTLEMEN,

In compliance with your request, I have examined the Cathedral of Hereford, and have embodied the results of my observations in the accompanying Report, in which I have endeavoured to describe the present state of the building,—especially of the tower and its piers,—as well as to trace the history of its several failures and repairs—an investigation which will, I hope, possess some interest for you. In pointing out the parts which require immediate restoration, I have not ventured to indicate the exact manner or extent of the repairs, which must of course be left to the judgment of your architect, whose skill has been already so successfully exerted in the similar cases of Rochester and Armagh. Should I not have succeeded in making myself intelligible in any portion of the following pages, I shall have great pleasure in supplying the required explanations, and remain,

Gentlemen,

Yours most sincerely,

R. WILLIS.

*The Very Rev. the Dean
and Chapter of Hereford.*

ON THE PRESENT STATE
OF THE
CATHEDRAL OF HEREFORD.
AND ON THE
CAUSES WHICH HAVE LED TO IT.

Every part of the building exhibits settlements and consequent distortions to a much greater degree than is generally the case with buildings of the same age. Thus, the eastern gable of the choir inclines considerably to the east, and the south wall of the Lady Chapel to the south; the walls of the north transept incline northwards and outwards in all directions, and the buttresses of its western wall are also thrust northwards. The north porch, commonly attributed to Bishop Booth, is also considerably inclined to the north, and the piers of the nave to the west; in short there is scarcely a vertical wall or pier in the whole building, with the exception perhaps of the Audley Chapel.

When these several settlements are carefully examined,

they appear to be of such a nature as would arise more from compression of the ground or foundation upon which they stand, than from weakness of the walls themselves, for these walls and piers are not bent into a convex form, as they would be if they had given way from constructive weakness, but are thrust bodily over, sinking into the ground on the yielding side. This may, for example, be observed in the piers of the nave, near the great tower, both on the north and south sides.

The greater part of these settlements however, can be shewn to be of great antiquity, having as might be expected, taken place very soon after the building was finished, and there is no fear of their going any further, except in those cases in which the original settlements may have so weakened the walls, by fracturing and displacing their materials as to allow them to sink under their own weight or that of the subsequent additions.

For the purpose of examining the nature of the foundations, excavations have been made by Mr. Cottingham, at the bases of the piers on the south side of the nave, and about that of the northern piers of the tower. From these, as well as from an excavation in the centre of the nave, it appears that at a depth of about seven feet below the present pavement, there is a firm bed of gravel, which, from deeper sinkings in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral, is ascer-

tained to extend to a great depth, forming what must be considered to be an unexceptionable foundation; and since the new work of Mr. Wyatt, as well as the Audley chapel remains perfectly upright, it is thus shewn that the ground when properly treated admits of a solid bearing. Again, as the settlements might have been supposed to have arisen from springs of water immediately under the building, search and enquiry has been directed to this point without discovering any. Immediately upon the surface of the bed of gravel, a wall about five feet high is placed. The stones of which it is built are rough from the quarry and are in seven courses; they are from 15 to 18 inches long at the lower part, and rather less at the upper, and the breadth of the wall is about four feet greater than the bases of the piers which stand upon it; two of these walls appear to extend from one end of the Cathedral to the other—from west to east,—the one receiving the northern and the other the southern range of piers as well as the piers of the central tower. The squared masonry of the bases of the piers rests upon the upper surface of these walls. Of course the rough structure of the walls prevents the detection of any settlement or displacement; but I am of opinion that it is rather this basement wall, than the gravel below which has given way, and allowed the piers to sink down and lean over as they do at present.

The walls of the Audley Chapel are, as already stated, perfectly upright, but the south wall of the Lady Chapel, against which it is erected, and into which its masonry is bonded, declines very considerably to the south; plainly, therefore, this settlement must have existed before the Audley Chapel was erected, and cannot have increased since the year 1500; on the other hand, the eastern gable of the Lady Chapel is in a state of ruinous disintegration, and requires immediate repair to save it from the fate of the west end of the Cathedral. The inclination of the walls and buttresses of the north transept, and of Booth's Porch, are original settlements, and nothing is to be apprehended from them or from that of the eastern gable of the Choir, the entire ponderous Norman wall of which, has evidently gone to the east, and possibly its upper gable may have been reduced to such a ruinous condition as to have justified the rebuilding of it by Mr. Wyatt.

But my attention has been more particularly directed to the state of the tower, and to understand the result of my observations, it will be necessary to say somewhat of the history of its erection.

It is clear that the piers and the four great arches that rest upon them are of Norman work, and that at some subsequent period, the present tower, which rises above the roofs, was added. Whether a Norman tower was ever carried

above the roof, and consequently taken down to make way for the present erection, is uncertain; I am inclined to think not. The line of demarcation between the Norman wall and that of the added tower is easily traced. The upper limit of the Norman work is marked by a string course, ornamented with a double row of little arch-heads, and the additional work commences just above this, in a manner that will be described below. The erection of this tower is not recorded, but from the style of its ornaments, may be fixed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The date usually assigned to it is a century earlier—it being supposed the work of Bishop de Braos; but this date, repeated by every successive historian, merely rests on a passage of Godwin, who in his biography of this Bishop,* says, “That his effigy has a model of a tower in its hand, whence he *conjectures* that he must have been the builder of the central tower.” This date is thus founded upon no document, and being contradicted by the now well-understood architectural style of the tower, may be dismissed as possessing no authority. It is much to be regretted that the period of erection of no one part of this Cathedral has been recorded, with the exception of its first foundation. It is established, however, that Bishop Cantilupe died in 1282 and was buried in the Lady Chapel, that his reputed sanctity and the

* *De Præsulibus*, 1616, p. 536.

miracles which were said to have been wrought at his tomb, brought considerable sums to the church, and that his body was removed to the north transept in 1287; also that he was canonized in 1307.

The style of the north transept agrees with the supposition that it was erected for the reception of the shrine of Cantilupe, between his death and the translation of his body; and the superior magnificence of the design bespeaks the increase of riches and consequence which this event had brought to the Cathedral. To the same source and the same circumstances may be attributed the new tower, of which, if we place the date at about 1300, or a little later, it will appear to have been undertaken immediately after the completion of the north transept, and probably from the funds which still arose from the same profitable source. And this may account for the omission of any recorded founder or benefactor in connection with either the work of the north transept or of this tower; for it may be generally observed, with respect to the buildings of the middle ages, that when they were carried on by their monasteries, no record is preserved of the work, but only when some considerable portion of it, as a tower, a transept, or the vaulting of an aisle, was undertaken at the expense of an individual. Thus it happens in the present instance, that the building of the Lady Chapel and its vestibule, the clerestory and vault of the choir and nave,

all of them works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are not recorded. To be sure Leland has recorded of Bishop de Vere, who died in 1199, that he constructed many remarkable edifices (on the authority of his epitaph), and we may assign some of these works to him, if we please.

To return however to the tower; it is evident that at the time of the addition of the present tower, the piers and the four great Norman arches, upon which it was placed, were in a state of great dislocation and settlement.

If the *south-east* pier be examined in connection with the *east Norman wall* of the south transept, it will be seen that the masonry of the latter wall near this pier, has been dragged downwards by the settlement of the pier. This is very visible on the inside of the building above the vault, as well as on the outside of the clerestory. It is also shewn by the bending downwards of the string mouldings in the interior of this transept, and also by the difference of level of the opposite impost mouldings of the small Norman arch, which opens between this south transept and the south aisle of the choir; for we may assume that all these things, namely, the courses of the masonry, the string mouldings, and the two imposts of the arch, were originally respectively level. But when the respective downward dislocations of these three things are carefully measured, they are found to be exactly the same, namely, three inches and a half; and

as they are situated at different altitudes, we may conclude that this pier has sunk *bodily downwards* into the foundation through the vertical space of three inches and a half with respect to the wall of the south transept which is of the same age as itself; but as the foundation is thus shewn to be compressible, it must be supposed that the wall itself must have sunk, although in a less degree, than the pier, and therefore that the *actual sinking* of the pier must have been greater than three inches and a half. In fact, by levelling the courses of masonry in the clerestory wall of this transept, immediately above the vault, I find a difference of level of about ten inches between the southern and northern extremities, which is manifestly due to sinking, and not to inaccurate workmanship, because the courses run nearly level over the piers, and sink in stages over the window heads.

A great settlement or subsidence is thus shewn to have taken place between the Norman pier and the Norman wall in connection with it, as well as a positive sinking of each into the foundation. The Norman wall of the choir has also sunk to the same extent, and as the Early English string moulding of its clerestory exhibits the same depression, we must either suppose that the depression happened after the clerestory was added, or that this string moulding was laid upon the Norman wall without levelling it, a supposition which is not inconsistent with the known roughness of the

work of that age. The settlement of the south wall of the south transept cannot now be measured, because a large Perpendicular window was inserted on this side, and the wall over it entirely rebuilt during the fifteenth century; most likely because this part of the wall had been entirely shattered by the subsidence of the tower. Neither can the settlements of the tower piers, with respect to the walls of the nave, be ascertained, in consequence of the entire rebuilding of the clerestory and triforium by Mr. Wyatt.

The two southern piers of the tower being in immediate connexion with walls of their own age, their subsidence is thus as it were recorded for our information. But the two northern piers are now connected with the northern or Cantilupe transept, which was built more than two centuries later, and probably replaced a Norman transept similar to the southern.

The eastern clerestory wall of this north transept, is, however, not at all disturbed by dragging downwards with the pier, and we may therefore conclude that the subsidence of the piers had ceased before the year 1300, for it will be shewn that the two northern piers had in themselves suffered quite as much, if not more, from settlements than the southern ones. If then, their junction with walls two centuries later, exhibits no signs of relative motion, we may plainly infer that all the subsidence of the piers had taken

place before these walls were connected to them. It is true that the western wall of the north transept, exhibits a great dislocation of form; the entire mass of masonry which forms the southern side of the lofty window, forty feet high, has shrunk and slipped away from its junction with the Norman wall, and settled downwards and northwards, bulging out and bending the iron bars of the window, and rendering an immediate repair necessary. But this is a local settlement, unconnected with that of the Norman pier and occasioned by the difficulty of establishing a firm bond between new work and old, for the clerestory and the upper part of this wall between the roofs exhibit no signs of having been dragged downwards by the tower pier.

When the great piers themselves are examined below, especially the two western, it is evident that they have suffered great disturbances. The greater part of the original Norman ashlering is now either covered by subsequent casing, or has been removed and rebuilt; nevertheless, the Norman capitals, from which the four tower arches spring, remain, and on several faces of the piers, the position of the corresponding shafts can be ascertained. This is the case with the southern face of the north-western pier. The lower portion of the pair of Norman shafts remains with the bases, and one of them still exists to the height of thirty-three feet. These shafts are *still* vertical, but the capitals, which undoubtedly were originally placed imme-

diately over them, are now removed by settlements, together with the entire western arch of the tower, through the enormous space of ten inches and a half to the west. Also two cylindrical piers of the nave on each side, and contiguous to the piers of the tower are pushed bodily over, so that their impost mouldings are now four inches and a half to the west of their true position; in fact every pier of the nave has gone to the west in a slight degree.

The Norman nave-arches which rest upon them have suffered a corresponding distortion of form, which is the most evident in that arch which connects the first cylindrical pier on the north side, with the half column that projects from the tower pier; for the half column has remained upright while the cylindrical pier has been pushed over as already described.

The Norman triforium and clerestory which once surmounted these piers, were destroyed by Mr. Wyatt, but the nature of the settlements just described—namely, that the capitals of the tower piers have gone so considerably to the west, while the lower half of the same pier remains vertical, and yet that all the piers of the nave are also driven to the west,—demonstrates that the upper part of the pier must have separated itself from the lower, by a diagonal fissure extending from the upper eastern portion to the lower western, and that the western half of the mass so separated, must have slipped downwards, and by pressing

against the walls and columns of the nave, have produced their present change of position.

And that the upper part of this pier with the entire western tower arch sank in this manner downwards and westwards, will also be shewn from the present state of the Norman string course over the great tower arches. I should also mention that the capitals of the shafts on the western face of the north-eastern pier have been similarly driven to the north about four inches, and that the south-western pier has undergone nearly the same settlement as the north-western. Now the upper extremities of the great piers having thus moved from their true position, the four great Norman tower arches which rest upon them, are necessarily distorted in a very great degree.

Two of these arches, the north and south, are smaller than the east and west: the respective spans being about nineteen and thirty-one feet. Immediately above these arches, a Norman string course projects from the wall; this was of course horizontal when first executed, and its deviations from horizontality serve to mark the extent of the dislocations of the arches below it. The western arch appears to have preserved its form tolerably well, and in fact, as the two piers upon which it rests have gone together towards the west, without diverging, this arch appears to have settled bodily with them without change

of form. The other three arches have suffered great disturbance; their original semicircular outline being now converted into an ellipse by the sinking of the crowns, occasioned by the divergence of the piers; for since the capitals of the north-west and south-west piers have each moved ten inches to the west, and that of the north-east four inches to the north, it follows that all the four arches, except the west, have spread at the feet, and therefore must have sunk at the crown.

I have levelled and examined the present state of the Norman string course, and I find that its north-west extremity is seven inches lower than its north-east, shewing the sinking of the north-west pier, which has been already detected from other appearances. Also the north-east end is two inches higher than the south-east end, and on this side the string course has sagged in the middle so as to fall about six inches lower in the centre than at the two ends, this is produced by the sinking of the crown of the eastern arch; again, the south-east angle is one inch and a half higher than the south-west, and the string sags about four inches in the middle; over the western arch the string course has been removed, but the south-western angle is three inches and a half higher than the north-western. These differences are too great to be attributed to bad workmanship, and they all point to the

same facts that have been attested by the other appearances described, namely, that the piers have all subsided and that the north-western has suffered the most; besides these appearances, the masonry of the spandrels—that is, of the walls included between the Norman arches below, and the string course above,—is in a frightful state of dislocation; for the change of form in the arches has twisted and fractured the stones in all directions, besides drawing them asunder so as to open the joints in many places to the extent of two inches or more. The rubble work in the heart of the wall has lost all cohesion.

Upon these arches, however, and in this state of ruin or very nearly so, did the architect of the tower in 1300 proceed to erect his work. That this was the case is shewn by the following evidence:—The masonry of the new tower begins at the level of the Norman string or a little above it, the junction of the two works being very easily traced. About four feet above the Norman string, a second or gothic string course is placed at the same level as the passage or gallery which runs in the thickness of the wall all round the tower, and upon this string course is supported the singular row of piers which constitute the interior lining of the tower.

Now the Norman string course has been shewn to be completely out of level at the corners, besides sagging in

the middles. But this gothic string course on the contrary, is now so nearly level with respect to the corners, that the difference may be attributed to errors of workmanship, and it has only sagged in the centre about half an inch on the east and north, and not at all on the other two sides. Also the lower bed of the first course of gothic masonry which rests upon the Norman wall, is *exactly shaped* to accomodate the sagging already described, but its upper bed is straight and level, proving decidedly that the entire present settlement of the Norman work had taken place before the tower was added, with the exception of a slight subsequent disturbance, of which I shall speak presently.

On the north and south walls, immediately above the Norman string course, may be traced a regular series of apertures in the face of the wall, about eleven inches square, in which were evidently once inserted the beams of a floor or ceiling. These apertures follow the sinking line of the Norman work, and not the level line of the tower work; consequently they indicate the position of the original Norman ceiling, which is now replaced by a vault of the fifteenth century. As the lines of this vault cut through the level of the floor, this last was necessarily removed to make way for it. These holes on the north side, have been rudely stopped up with blocks of tufa—the light substance used in vaulting—from which, we may suppose that the beams were

removed and the holes stopped when the vault was in progress, and consequently this material at hand.

At all events, the jointing of the masonry shews very clearly that the floor beams were not removed at the time the walls were carried up; for it is evident that the new masonry was built round and about the beams, in a way that it is not easy to describe without drawings, but which plainly shews that the beams were left undisturbed.

At each angle of the tower, and at the same level as these beam holes, is a diagonal aperture higher than they are, and extending nearly through the wall; now the purpose of the beam holes cannot be mistaken, and we have seen that the new masonry was built round them without disturbing them, and I conclude that these similarly diagonal holes also received some timber work, which in like manner was allowed to remain undisturbed.

The interior walls of the tower are of a very singular construction: twelve piers of compact masonry on each side, beside angle piers, are carried up to the height of twenty-six feet, and connected half way up by a horizontal course of stone, in long pieces, and by an iron bar, which runs all round immediately under this bonding course. Upon these gigantic *stone gratings*, if I may be allowed the expression, the interior wall of the tower rests; and they also carry the entire weight of the bell-

chamber and bells. I believe this construction was entirely adopted for the sake of lightness.

It is clear that it was never intended to be seen from below, for there are no means provided to illuminate the chamber so formed, which at present derives all its light from the apertures in the floor of the bell-chamber above it. The external walls of the tower were at the time of its erection buried in the roof, of which the pitch was much higher than at present; and if windows be now inserted in these walls, I am of opinion, that besides weakening the tower in a manner, which considering its antiquity and shattered state, cannot be recommended, they will prove wholly inadequate to supply sufficient light to the chamber in question; for the piers of the grating are only four and a half inches asunder, with the exception of the middle one, which is eighteen inches. Moreover the piers of the grating are of different widths, and their bases irregular, and the whole has no decorative character; and in addition to the fact that no light was supplied to this room in the original, which plainly shews that it was never *intended* to be seen from below, I have shewn good reason for supposing that the ceiling which concealed it was only removed to make way for the vault, so that in fact it never *was* seen from below.

I have thus shewn, that notwithstanding the shattered state of the piers and arches, the architect of the tower imagined that they might be trusted with the support of his new work. We may at least infer from this, that the settlement had ceased to increase long before the year 1300, for it does not even appear that any attempts were made to repair or fortify the piers for the reception of the new load, with the exception of the north-western. The arch which connects this with the first pier of the nave had a new arch inserted under it, and the arches which connected this pier with the north transept, both on the ground and at the triforium, were filled up, leaving only a small doorway below. The ball-flower ornament, which is given to this new pier arch and to a string course on the west wall over this small doorway, serves to shew that this work was done at the same time as the tower, which is covered with a profusion of the same ball-flowers.

However, the confidence of the architect in his old piers and arches was unhappily misplaced; the new walls which have been described as resting on the Norman string, exhibit settlements and fractures not nearly so great as those of the Norman work immediately below them, but still of a very alarming character. In the interior of the tower it is evident that the worst of them is due to the fractures of the stones over the apertures, which as already

described, were occupied originally by the beams and ancient wood work. At the angles especially, the corner piers of the gratings are carried by large stones which cover the diagonal apertures, and are thus unsupported in the middle, and these stones have fractured in every instance, allowing the piers to descend more or less. Also the great eastern arch, the crown of which had sunk so considerably before the tower was added, appears to have sunk about an inch subsequently, which has allowed the stone grating on that side to descend, and has produced rents and fractures at its junction with the walls. The outer surface of the tower walls exhibits similar symptoms to those already described of the interior. At the junction of the Norman and Gothic masonry, the same sagging of the old work over the arches, and the same shaping of the new course of masonry to accommodate this sagging, may be observed, and it will also be seen, that the worst and most alarming settlements are in the old work.

Nevertheless it is evident that the dislocations of this old work had proceeded so far as to destroy the cohesion of the walls, and allow crushing of the stone work to begin, which has proceeded, and probably continued from time to time up to the present, and has now reached to such an extent as to make a thorough repair and renewal of the ashlering of this portion of the walls necessary to prevent

the entire ruin of the tower. The upper part of the tower was originally so substantially built, that when the older portion has been reinstated, this will need comparatively little repair to make it perfectly sound.

Having now disposed of the tower, I will return to its piers in the church below. These piers have evidently been subjected from time to time to a series of repairs and casings which it is not very easy to understand.

I may here refer to a curious document preserved in the archives of the Cathedral which will throw some light upon their history. In this is a bull of Pope John XXII., dated 1319, by which the churches of Shenyngheld and Swalefeld are assigned to the uses of the fabric of the church of Hereford in the usual form. But the preamble recites that whereas sometime since the dean and chapter of Hereford did, upon an ancient foundation which in the opinion of skilful masons was held to be firm and solid, erect a sumptuous building upon which more than 20,000 marks were expended; that now from the weakness of the foundation, this building so threatens ruin, that the entire fabric must be completely repaired from the foundations upwards; which they are unable to undertake, being also burthened with debts incurred in the procuring of the canonization of Thomas of Cantilupe, &c., &c.

This document must allude to the tower and north transept, which were both of them built upon or in connexion with Norman work, the "fundamentum antiquum" here mentioned. It is important, as shewing that the settlements in the new work, consequent upon its erection on so shattered a substructure, must have begun to shew themselves immediately after its completion. But as the repairs which were intended to avert this threatened ruin, appear to have been confined to the piers below, and not to have been extended to the great arches and their ruined spandrels, we may conclude that the settlements were imputed to the failure of the piers alone; and it may be presumed that the movement was arrested, since we find that the present vault was substituted for the wooden ceiling sometime in the fifteenth century, to judge by its mouldings and fashion, and probably at the same time that the similar vault of the south transept was erected, for if the tower were then in a threatening state, it would hardly have been tampered with by such an alteration. It must be confessed however, that the ribs of this vault are remarkably thin and light, and that it stands completely free of the walls on all sides, resting merely upon the four corbels. This vault must be taken down to obtain proper access to the spandrel walls in the course of the proposed repairs, but it may be replaced.

I will now describe the present state of the four piers in order:—I have already shewn that the south face of the *north-west pier* was originally traversed by a fissure, which allowed the upper western portion to descend; and it is easy to see that the whole of the Norman ashlering to the west of the fissure has been removed and entirely rebuilt. At the upper part, where the shattering and dislocation was the greatest, the face of this new work is brought forwards a few inches; but the remaining portion has the same face as the Norman work, which shows that this repair was not a mere casing like some of the others, but an actual renewal of original ashlar. This repair is crowned by a Gothic string moulding which lies immediately under the Norman capitals; one of these capitals having been, as I suppose, crushed, has been replaced by a plain block of stone, and the whole of the capitals on the eastern face of this pier have been also removed and the new masonry carried much higher than on the southern face. This work, or at least the southern face of it, is probably an ancient repair consequent on the threatened ruin mentioned in the bull of 1319; but the remaining Norman face of this pier seems in course of time to have again exhibited threatening symptoms; for it has been fortified in a very singular and unsightly fashion by cramping against its face a shell of masonry nine inches thick. This masonry is composed of very

long and narrow stones set end-long, but is traversed in the middle and terminated at the height of 33 feet by horizontal courses which serve to bind the work, and probably contain iron bands for the purpose of assisting in keeping the pier together. This casing extends round three sides of the pier occupying portions of the north and south faces, and the whole of the east face; but the original Norman shafts still remain upon this latter face to the height of 23 feet, and the surface of the Norman wall, beneath the casing, does not appear to have been broken into. The whole work is apparently the contrivance of a country mason, and as such, its efficacy is not much to be depended upon. The object of the vertical beds may have been to reduce the number of horizontal joints, and thus to avoid or diminish the shrinking of the work, which is always a source of difficulty when new work is united with old. But more probably the evil to be remedied, was a bulging out of the Norman ashlering, like that which now appears on the north face of the south-western pier, and on the spandrels of the great arches, and these long stones were intended to act like the splinters applied to a broken leg.

The *north-east pier* is repaired in a totally different manner, being completely cased or enveloped in a coating of solid masonry laid in the usual manner in horizontal courses, which have thickened out the pier upon the plan

nine inches in every direction. Whether this masonry is also a mere shell cramped against the undisturbed Norman face of the pier, or whether the Norman ashlering has been removed and the additional work properly bonded into this pier, I cannot tell, but it is very desirable that this fact should be ascertained, as its present efficiency depends very much upon that circumstance. However this may be, it is the work of two different periods. The southern face of the pier shows a nearly vertical fissure or separation of the masonry, and the lines of the beds will be found on examination to be at different levels on the two sides of the fissure which at the bottom and near the top is a mere vertical straight joint. The western half of this casing is the most recent of the two, and their line of juncture at present exhibits the appearance of a dangerous crack. This is occasioned by the inevitable shrinking of the late work from the earlier; and as the pier shews no symptoms of giving way in other respects, it does not appear to impair its stability.

The *south-eastern pier* retains its Norman face on a portion of the southern side, but the western and northern faces, as well as the rest of the southern face, have been entirely and substantially rebuilt; for although the present face advances a few inches beyond that of the original Norman pier, it is evident that the Norman ashlering was

in this case removed. This pier is in excellent condition, and appears to need no repair or alteration whatever. This work may be attributed to the period immediately succeeding the bull of 1319. The corbel which sustains the tower vault, and which rests upon the string moulding which caps this new ashlering, is formed in such a manner as to shew that it was intended to rest upon this string course, and consequently must have been inserted after the string course was completed; the repair therefore in question, must have taken place before the tower vault was inserted in the fifteenth century; but the western face of this pier seems to have been subsequently underpinned.

The *south-western pier* retains on its northern face a portion of the Norman ashlering, with about eleven feet of the shafts; above, and to the east of these, the Norman ashlering has been removed and rebuilt, probably in the fourteenth century, when the other piers were repaired. A long corbel is advanced near the upper part, which carries a projecting pier of masonry, for the purpose of supporting the original Norman capitals, which have been respected and preserved as much as possible throughout all these repairs and alterations. This pier, has at some subsequent period undergone a second repair upon its eastern face, which has been underpinned and brought

forward about ten inches to the east. This work, which is also carried round the southern part of the pier, only extends to twenty feet in height, and then falls back with a chamfer to the original face. It exhibits no signs of settlement, and appears to have been firmly and substantially executed; but the junction of these three different works upon the plain northern face of this pier, greatly increases the shattered appearance of its masonry, for each boundary line, at first sight, looks like a fissure. Also the half round pier, which received the first arch of the nave, has been rudely cut into for the insertion of the pier of a pointed arch, which has been substituted for the Norman arch on this side of the nave; for as the tower pier in question had declined to the west, as already explained, exactly as the opposite pier had done, the Norman arch, on this side, must have been distorted and shattered in the same manner as the opposite one, and probably in so great a degree as to render it necessary to replace it entirely.

In addition to the various repairs of the piers thus detailed, most of the Norman arches in connexion with these piers have been filled up with solid masonry, leaving only doorways. The only one in fact which remains untouched, is the arch which opens between the south transept and the side aisle of the choir. At what period

these and the other repairs were executed, it is not easy to determine. However, these fillings up, as well as the piers of the oxeve masonry, are shewn in the plan of Hereford Cathedral given by Browne Willis, in 1727. This is, I believe, the oldest plan extant, for the Monasticon contains no plan of this Cathedral. Perhaps some of these works are due to Bishop Bisse, who is recorded in the former work as having caused the whole fabrick to be repaired, and the choir new beautified throughout. He occupied the see from 1712 to 1721. The *oxeye masonry* is so termed, because the centre of it is pierced by an opening in the form of the ancient *vesica piscis*, called by workmen, an oxeve.

This masonry completely fills up the two smaller arches of the tower, namely, the north and south, and is itself supported by two segmental arches branching from an octangular central column. It was of course intended to support the arches and tower in their evident state of delapidation, but it is impossible to conceive a more injudicious or useless work than it presents; in fact, the masonry is so absurdly arranged, that it is unable even to support itself. Its mass has settled in two parts upon its two segmental arches, straightening them and descending and abandoning the arch it was intended to support. The settlements and fissures which now appear in this masonry, are merely the

effects of this change of form, and as I do not believe it has had the slightest influence, either for good or evil, upon the building—it may be with safety entirely removed.

I have thus attempted to develop the causes which have brought the building to its present state; and have endeavoured to show that the settlements are of great antiquity, and that many of them are of such a nature, that no apprehensions need be entertained from them, they having taken place immediately after the completion of the work and not having yielded since; also that many of them have arisen from the injudicious junction of the new work with old. But when the facts of the fall of the west-end in 1786 and the evidently impending ruin of the eastern gable of the Lady Chapel are considered, there is too much reason to fear that some of these early settlements may have extended so far in the first instance as to weaken and destroy the integrity of the walls, so as to allow them to sink and be crushed under the weight of the subsequent additions. This is evidently the case with the four great Norman arches, the masonry of which and of the spandrel walls above, is in such a state of ruin as to make an immediate repair absolutely necessary for the preservation of the tower. The piers upon which these arches rest, have been as we have seen, subjected to a series of repairs, many of which have been so substantially

executed as to make them perfectly safe. This is especially the case with the south-eastern pier, which is in excellent order, and with the north-eastern, which exhibits only an original vertical fissure, from which nothing need now be apprehended. The two westerly piers are not in such good condition, and these, as we have seen, did in the first instance, suffer much more from settlement than the others. The mode in which the north-western pier has been repaired or bolstered is unsightly, and may conceal a state of ruin which it is inadequate to prevent. Also the north-western portion of this pier exhibits some fractures, from which there is too much reason to suppose that the heart of the work is in a very unsound condition. For which reasons it would be desirable to remove this casing, and subject this pier to a thorough repair, in the course of which, the real state of the internal parts will become evident, and an opinion may be formed of the necessity for a similar operation upon the south-western pier, of which the northern face exhibits in some parts signs of weakness, which may be merely superficial, but which at all events call for examination and repair.

I do not think it necessary or expedient to restore the original form of the Norman piers. The repairs, which are, as I have shewn, themselves of a sufficient antiquity to claim respect, have so far advanced the faces of these

piers in many places, and removed the Norman shafts in others, and the settlements have so disturbed the capitals from their true positions, that any attempt to restore the original form and to replace the shafts must be attended with very great expense. The existing mode of capping the restored ashlering with a Gothic string, immediately under the Norman capitals, answers every purpose of uniting the two works, with a due regard to appearance.

ROBERT WILLIS.

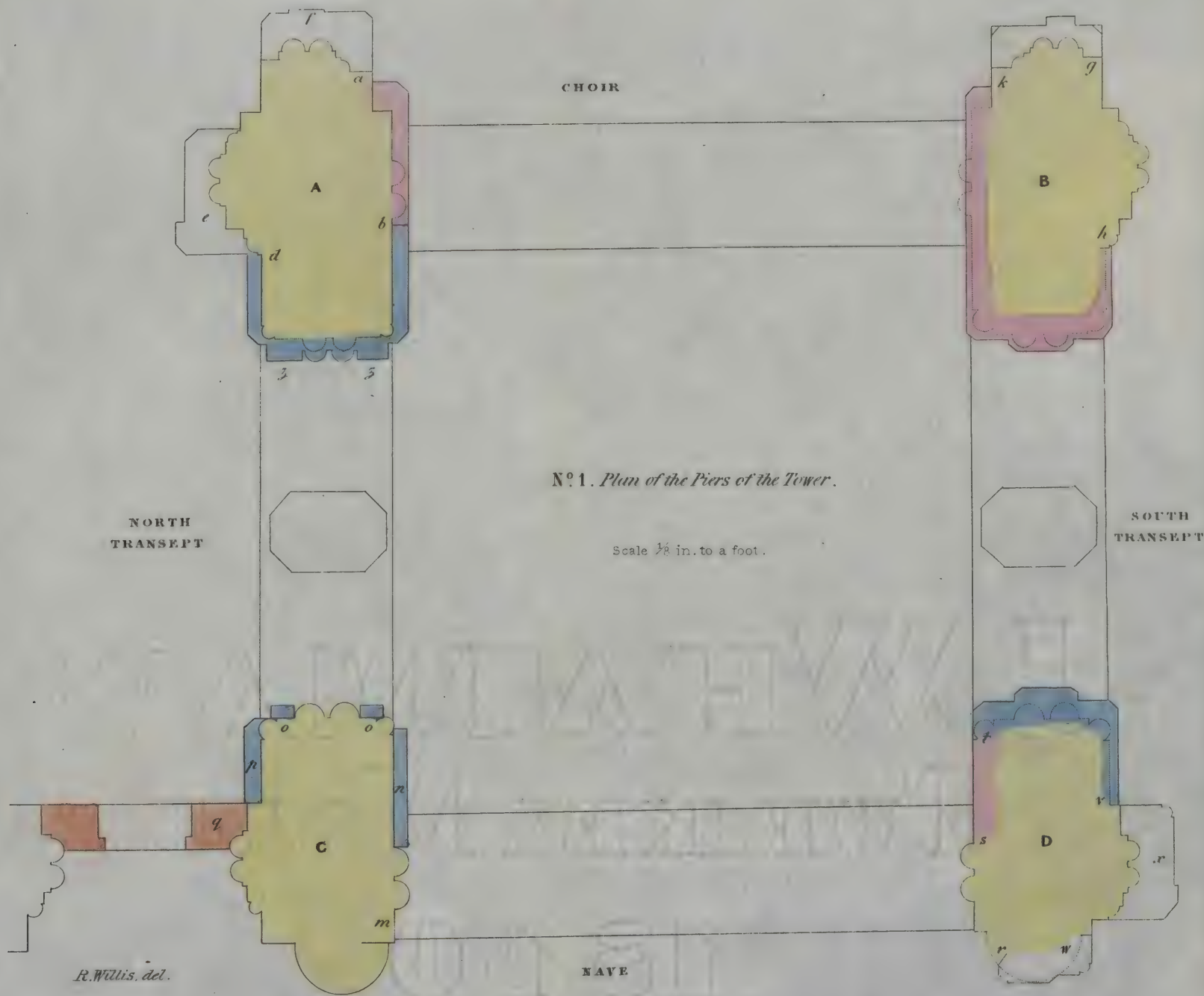
Cambridge, Sep. 22, 1841.

1865

J. W. H. A. P. M. A. E.
HUFFAKEN, N. J.

1865

1865



EXPLANATION
OF
THE THREE DIAGRAMS
WHICH ACCOMPANY THIS REPORT.

The original Norman work is tinted Yellow, and the works of the Tower Light red, the subsequent additions are distinguished from each other, by different tints, as explained below:—

No. 1.

Plan of the tower piers, to shew the alterations of form introduced by the successive casings and repairs.

The outline of the original Norman pier is shewn upon each.

The *north-east pier* A, has received an ancient casing from *a* to *b*, and a more recent one from *b* to *d*. It is uncertain whether these two casings are bonded into the Norman work, or whether they are merely cramped against its face. As they are of different dates, this fact should be ascertained for each. The arches which abut against the pier at *e* and at *f*, have been filled up, leaving doorways only, and this work is merely inserted, without disturbing the Norman face; this has been ascertained by withdrawing stones.

The south-east pier B still shews its Norman face, from *g* to *h*, and the same is undisturbed beneath the filling up of the arch from *k* to *g*. But from *h* to *k*, the outer surface of the pier has been substantially rebuilt.

The north-west pier C, retains its Norman face all round, with the exception of the ashlering above *m*, which has been rebuilt, as is more clearly shewn by the elevation of this pier at O (No. 2). At *n*, *o*, and *p*, the pier has been bolstered up with long stones; and at *q*, the archway is filled up by masonry of the age of the tower.

The south-west pier D, retains its Norman face from *r* to *s*; from *s* to *t* the ashlering is rebuilt, and from *t* to *v*, a second rebuilding appears, by which the face of the pier is brought forwards, and extended beyond the original Norman line. The north face of this pier therefore exhibits the two junctions of the three works at *s* and *t*; also at *w* the pier has been cut into and a more recent pier inserted, and at *x* the archway is filled up with masonry exactly similar to that at *e*.

No 2.

Section of the tower, with part of the nave and choir, from west to east.

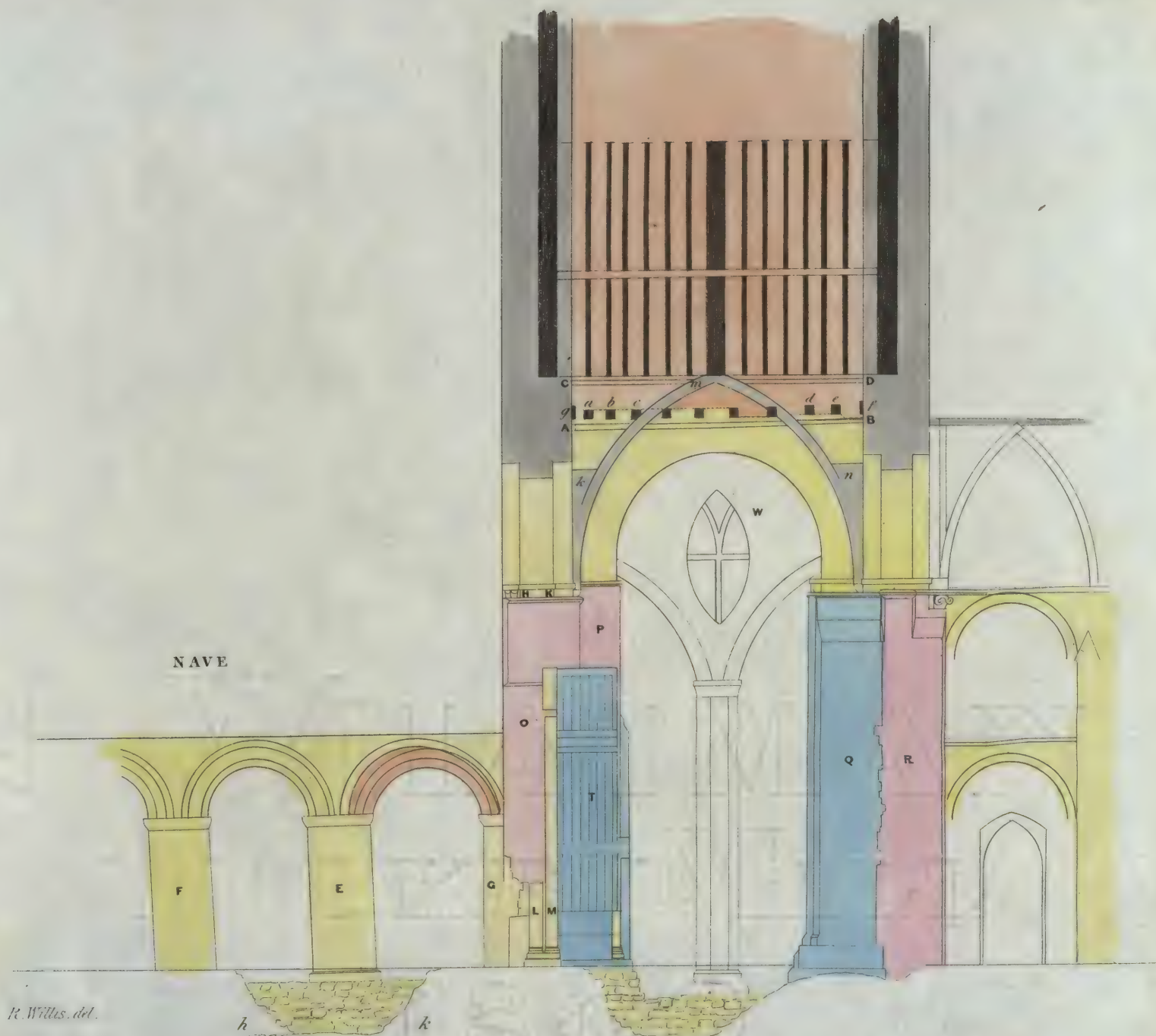
A B, the Norman string course, seven inches lower at A than at B.



Handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a name or a title, located in the middle section of the page. The text is written in a fluid, connected style, with some letters appearing to be capital letters.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a name or a title, located in the lower middle section of the page. The text is written in a fluid, connected style, with some letters appearing to be capital letters.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a name or a title, located in the bottom section of the page. The text is written in a fluid, connected style, with some letters appearing to be capital letters.



R. Willis. del.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 1 foot.

Nº 2. Section of the Tower from West to East looking North.

C D, the Gothic string course, very nearly level.

a, b, c, d, e, holes in which the beams of the Norman floor were inserted previously to the erection of the vault *k, m, n*. The dotted line is the boundary between the Norman and Gothic work.

f, g, the diagonal holes which extend into the heart of the wall.

The piers of the nave at E and F, are pushed out of the perpendicular, nearly five inches to the west, but G remains vertical; also the capitals at H and K, which were once vertically over their respective shafts L and M, are now ten inches and a half to the west of them, whence it may be inferred that the portion O, P, now repaired with newer masonry, together with the great arch above must have slipped away from the portions T, M, L, G, and thus thrust over the work of the nave. The ancient repairs upon the face of the pier, at Q and R, are shewn by the two tints, of which, the pink is the oldest, and probably immediately succeeded the completion of the tower.

h, k, is the level of the gravel; and the rough wall which rests upon it, and serves as a foundation for the piers, is shewn, as well as the manner in which the piers have been pushed bodily over.

T, the casing of long stones cramped against the Norman face. It must be recollected that the triforium and clerest-

tory of the nave were entirely rebuilt by Mr. Wyatt, I have not shewn them in the drawing of the pier.

W, the oxeye masonry.

No. 3.

Section of the tower from north to south looking east.

A B, the Norman string course which sags in the middle six inches.

C D, the Gothic string course very nearly level.

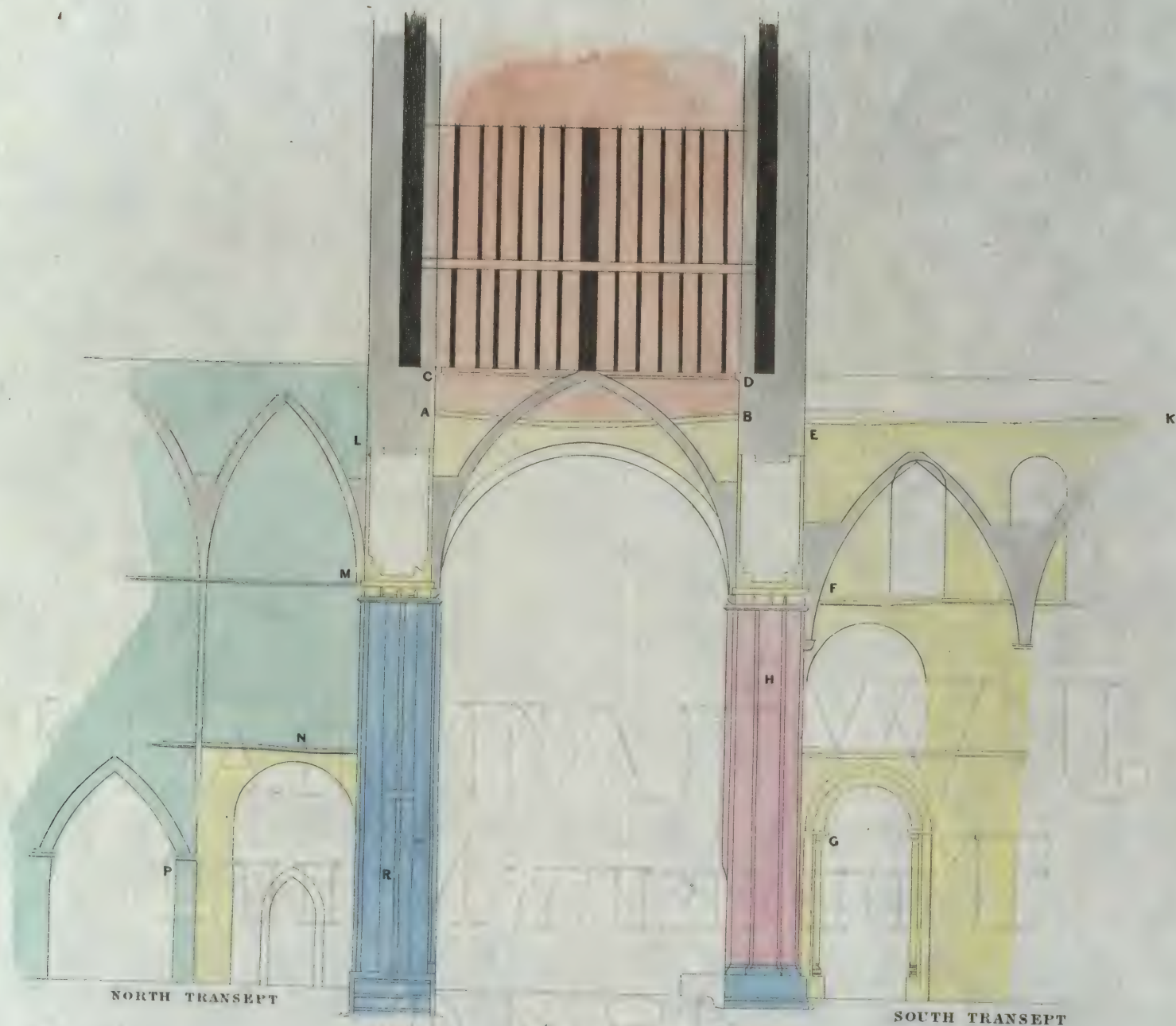
The masonry at E, the string course at F, and the impost at G, have all been carried down through the space of three inches and a half by the pier H, which is thus shewn to have sunk bodily into the foundation.

The total difference of level from K to L is ten inches.

The wall of the north transept tinted green, is two centuries newer than the Norman work, but the wall at L and the string course at M shew no symptoms of the dragging downwards of the great piers, as at E, F, and G, consequently this must have ceased before the wall was erected.

But at N is a local settlement occasioned by the sinking of the Norman arch immediately below it, which has also thrust out the pier at P to the north.

It would seem that the casing on the west face of the pier at R must have been subsequent to the bolstering of the opposite pier, for the plan (No. 1, z, z,) shews that its form is imitated from that produced by the latter at o, o.



R. Willis. del.

Scale $\frac{1}{16}$ in. to a foot.

Nº 3. Section of the Tower from North to South looking East.



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1541

LETTERS

FROM

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF HEREFORD,

AND

THE REV. PROFESSOR WILLIS,

IN REPLY.

LETTER FROM THE DEAN OF HEREFORD

TO

MR. PROFESSOR WILLIS.

Deanery, Hereford, July 12th, 1842.

MY DEAR MR. PROFESSOR,

I learn from the Bishop that he sent you a newspaper, in which was a Report of our Proceedings at the County Meeting; it was of course, a very imperfect Report, and did not fully detail our humble efforts; however, the result has more than answered our expectations, as it has removed the doubts and prejudices which existed in many quarters.

My object in now writing to you is to request that you will give me a little explanation of one point in your admirable and most valuable Report, which has caused me some little embarrassment.

You say in the last page, after declaring *the necessity of further examination* behind the casings of at least two of the Norman piers, "I do not think it necessary or expedient to restore the original form of the Norman piers. The repairs, which are as I have shewn, themselves of sufficient antiquity to claim respect, have so far advanced the faces of these piers in many places, and removed the Norman shafts in others, and the settlements have so disturbed the capitals from their true positions that any attempt to restore their original form and replace the shafts must be attended with very great expense." Now, as it is obvious that at least two of the piers must be in great measure refaced, and the estimate of the architect includes the restoration of the shafts and piers, would it not be a pity to reconstruct them in their present form, would not the original form be equally or probably more efficient to bear the weight, when so restored, and if so, would not the uniformity of the whole four piers in their original style be most desirable, especially as the capitals, with one exception only, are perfect, and portions of the shafts projecting and visible, I am of course aware that these

must be restored to their perpendicular line. I should be glad to know whether your remarks are merely in reference to the question of expense, or to the safety of the process of restoration, or the efficiency of the piers to bear the weight when restored to their original form as now intended by the architect, who proposes so to restore them, feels confident of the practicability and safety of the process, and has calculated the costs to meet the undertaking. If there were funds for it would it be objectionable to do it? I confess I have no love for the mended portions, and would gladly see the restoration if possible, but I wish to be prudent, and shall be most thankful for your explanation. If you could give it to me before the diocesan meeting of the 21st, at Ludlow, it would be the more valuable to me. I think I before asked if you would allow your Report to be printed with other documents—you cannot fully know how much I value the indefatigable labour which you devoted to the investigation of our fabric, and how thankful we all of us feel to you for such important assistance, and remain,

My dear Mr. Professor,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

JOHN MEREWETHER.

MR. PROFESSOR WILLIS
TO
THE DEAN OF HEREFORD.

Parker's Piece, Cambridge, January 20, 1842.

MY DEAR MR. DEAN,

My object in writing the Report was to confine myself as closely as possible to the questions of structure and history, with a view to discover how much was to be feared from the present state of the building, and how much was absolutely required in the way of repair under the circumstances of very limited funds. Believing as I do, the south-eastern pier to be in a perfectly sound state, and the north-eastern pier to be also quite safe, I did not think myself justified in recommending the expenditure of any portion of the funds upon them. Whether, supposing an ample sum to be raised, these piers should be restored to the Norman form is a question of taste about which much might be said. I have endeavoured to shew in the Report that the ashlar of these two piers is of considerable antiquity, and that in all probability it is not a casing under which the original Norman work remains, but a replacing of the Norman ashlar.

These piers will also be covered to a considerable height by the stall work. In Hereford Cathedral, as in many

others, there is a mixture of all styles. The choir is Norman below and Early English above; the north transept Early Decorated; the vault of the tower and of the Norman south transept of Late Decorated work and so on, and all these dissimilar portions are seen at once and do not admit of being changed so as to make the whole Norman in style. For this reason I do not as a question of taste see the necessity of restoring the Norman face and form of piers which are in a sound state. But as the north-western and south-western piers, especially the former, are in a very unsightly garb and unsafe, the experiment of restoration may be tried upon one of them, and it will then be found whether the internal state of the piers and the appearance when finished is such as to justify the expenditure, and also how far the estimate may be relied on, for in works of this nature it is not easy to predict all the sources of expense as in the case of a new building.

I am delighted to hear that my labors have in any shape contributed to the furtherance of so good a work. I can assure you that I always look back with pleasure upon the investigation, which has been to me a source of the greatest possible interest. Pray send it to press if you think that by its publication it will attract any additional interest towards the works. I shall merely request that the proof sheets be sent to me for correction; as, in all probability,

there may be errors and redundancies which have escaped me in the haste of writing.

I have only now returned from London, and I fear this letter will be too late for your meeting.

I remain, yours most sincerely,

R. WILLIS.

Wm. G. Scott Esq.
do do do
A KEY

TO

from the
Rather.

PROPORTIONS OF THE PARTHENON.

BY

JOSEPH JOPLING, ARCHITECT.

"I have found it! I have found it!"—*Archimedes.*

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,
6, BRIDGE ROAD, ST. JOHN'S WOOD.

1855.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

A KEY

TO PROPORTIONS OF THE PARTHENON.

“ This perfect recovery of the light that guided the Athénian artists, can alone raise the arts connected with the geometry out of the errors that ages of darkness have cast around them; this alone can restore them to their true position among the exact sciences, and eventually place the arts of Europe on a level with the present advanced state of general science.”—*John Pennethorne*, 1844.

It is left to others to determine the cause hitherto, of the general very great “*want of perception*” of the necessity for a public exhibition of diagrams, models of curved solids, numerous simple apparatus and their curved results, consecutively and permanently arranged in a Gallery for inspection and comparison—for “*experiment and observation*”—for a far more extended knowledge of practical geometry than an individual unaided can ever accomplish; to instruct the mind and the eye, in reference to proportion and form of definite curved lines and curved surfaces, and their intersections, and projections, especially applicable to architecture; for unless true principles are accurately known, they cannot justly be either appreciated, or with strict propriety be introduced in design.

It is however some encouragement to persevere single handed, to be enabled to submit such a number of facts in immediate connexion, and these proved by geometrical construction and by calculation, which place beyond a doubt that the ancient Greeks have recorded in the Parthenon, much knowledge which has been since long lost, that they had acquired of geometrical laws, and to which their unrivalled success in architecture and the arts must be attributed.

Mr. Penrose's Measurements of Upper Step, with their differences and averages.

No.	Feet.	Difference.
1. East end at top.....	101·341	} ·006
West end at top	101·347	
	2)202·688	
Average	<u>101·344</u>	
2. North side at top	228·141	} ·013
South side at top	228·154	
	2)456·295	
Average	<u>228·147</u>	
3. Inclination of upper step	·023	
Average of end on top	101·344	
Average of end at bottom....4.	101·367	
	<u>25342</u>	
	9	
	<u>218078</u>	

4. Inclination of upper step	·023
Average of sides on top	228·147
Average of sides at bottom	<u>228·170</u>

ON PROPORTION, 4 : 9.

These averages for the length of the bottom of the upper step at the ends, and the sides, form a parallelogram of very nearly the proportion 4 : 9 ; which proportion it is considered from the general evidence the mason's lines by which the steps were set, in reality originally was. Therefore :

5. To the average of ends at bottom = 101·367

Allow for space for mason's line to hang clear of work—for any minute error in original setting out and in workman- ship—also for alterations by time during more than 2000 years—and for any inaccuracy in the measurements by Mr. Penrose.	} =	·073!!!!
---	-----	----------

The calculated full length of ends as originally set out	} =	<u>101·440</u>
--	-----	----------------

6. Then the average of sides of upper step at bottom	} =	228·170	long
Allow for space for mason's line, &c., as before, for ends	} =	·073!!!!	

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{The calculated full length} \\ \text{of sides as set out} \end{array} \right\} = \underline{\underline{228.243}}$$

7. The half of $\cdot 073 = \cdot 036$; or less than one half of an inch, being added all round bottom of upper step as measured by Mr. Penrose, gives a parallelogram for the mason's line of

$$\begin{array}{c} 101.44 \text{ feet by } 228.24 \text{ feet} \\ \text{in the exact proportion of} \\ 4 : 9. \end{array}$$

SETTING OFF A RIGHT ANGLE, &c.

There are various ways by which a right angle may be formed, amongst which a right angled triangle can be made and such a parallelogram may be set off by the proportions 3, 4, and 5, geometrically; or by figures thus:

$$1 \text{ produced } 3 \text{ times} = 3 = \text{one leg.}$$

$$3 + 1 \quad . \quad = 4 = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{another leg and end} \\ \text{of parallelogram.} \end{array} \right.$$

$$4 + 1 \quad . \quad = 5 = \text{hypotenuse.}$$

$$4 + 5 \quad . \quad = 9 = \text{side of parallelogram.}$$

Or, further, calculated from the full length of upper step at one end of the Parthenon, thus:

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Full length, equal} \\ \text{one leg} \end{array} \right\} = 101.44 & & \\ & \frac{2}{50.72} = 50.72 \text{ one } \frac{1}{2} & \\ & \frac{50.72}{2} = 25.36 \text{ one } \frac{1}{4} & \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 25\cdot36 + 3\cdot \text{ or } \{ & & \\
 50\cdot72 + 25\cdot36 \} & = & 76\cdot08 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{another} \\ \text{leg} \end{array} \right. \\
 101\cdot44 + 25\cdot36 & = & 126\cdot80 =
 \end{array}$$

Hypotenuse.

$$101\cdot44 + 126\cdot80 = 228\cdot24 =$$

length of parallelogram = upper step at side. Or, with one half, or one quarter, or any other definite proportion of the full length of the end upper step, between the mason's lines at the sides, the other measures can be calculated, a right angle formed, and the breadth and length of a parallelogram of the upper step set off in the proportion of 4 to 9.

On the Curvature of Upper Step, &c.

Having advanced thus far, and supposing that stakes or blocks of stone to be fixed outside at the four angles of the temple, and to and from these the mason's lines fixed and stretched, at ends and sides, by which to guide the workmen to set the blocks for the upper step:—the thought occurred to the author that, although on a horizontal plane, these mason's lines would appear as right lines; yet, as they would swag, on vertical planes they would be catenary curves; and that just as much as these may be below a horizontal line at every point, if set off as much above, might give the delicate curve of the top of the upper step, at any number of points.

This very simple method on trial has been found

to be correct. Exactly coinciding with Mr. Penrose's points. Thus the ancient Greeks knew and applied in architecture, catenary curves !!

The curve the full length at East end of the upper step the author set off; and also the curve of the Entasis the full length of a column, at the Architectural Museum, Canon Row, Parliament Street, Westminster, for a lecture on the 28th of May, 1855.

The model still remains there for the inspection, and it is to be hoped, for the conviction of some of those who have doubted the very existence and have ridiculed the idea of such delicately varying lines having ever been applied in architectural constructions.

Other delicate curves, as for the architrave above the columns, &c., may be set off in the same way, with facility and great accuracy.

Such curves, although perfectly distinct on the full sized scale, and even on a very minute scale, the eye may be instructed to observe very delicate variations in lines, they cannot well be represented on the paper of a book.

On the peculiar arrangement of the exterior Columns surrounding the Parthenon.

In order that the positions of the columns at the sides and the ends of the Parthenon should perfectly harmonize, it was seen to be necessary to make centres of fourth openings between columns

at the sides, at the same distance from the angles, as from the angles to the centres of the ends ; also in counting from sides the middles of fourth openings.

By setting off one half the length of the end of the parallelogram from each angle along the sides, the sides are thus divided into three spaces ; viz., $50\cdot72 + 126\cdot8 + 50\cdot72 = 228\cdot24 =$ the full length of a side $=$ the longest leg added to the hypotenuse The ends into two $50\cdot72 + 50\cdot72 = 101\cdot44$.

Then the $\frac{126\cdot8}{9} = 14\cdot08888 =$ the general distance from centre to centre of columns.

There are 14 of these equal divisions on each side ; therefore $14\cdot08888 \times 14 = 197\cdot24444 =$ distance between the centres of second columns from the ends ; and there are 5 of these equal divisions at each end, therefore $14\cdot08888 \times 5 = 70\cdot4444 =$ distance between second columns from each side.

Now, $228\cdot24 - 197\cdot24444 = 30\cdot99555$.

and, $101\cdot44 - 70\cdot4444 = 30\cdot99555$.

again $\frac{30\cdot99555}{2} = 15\cdot49777 =$ the distance from corner of the upper step (mason's line) to the centre of the second column, both at the sides and at the ends.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Next, } 15\cdot49777 - 14\cdot08888 \\ \text{and } \frac{14\cdot08888}{10} \end{array} \right\} = 1\cdot40888.$$

This, thus, twice derived number, is proposed to be called *the pivot*.

*On the exact position and dimension of the
surrounding Columns.*

This number 1·40888, is the difference between the sides of an inscribed and a circumscribed square to a circle: and 1·40888 is also the side of a square; the diagonal of which is 1·9922; and $1·9922 + 1·40888 = 3·4011 =$ the distance from the mason's line to the line of centres of all the columns at the sides and the ends of temple; and also $=$ to the side of the inscribed square; the diagonal of which is $= 4·8099 =$ the side of circumscribed square, and $=$ the top diameter of intermediate columns.

Again, $4·8099 + 1·40888 = 6·2188 =$ diameter of intermediate columns at bottom.

Further, the sum of the sides of the inscribed square $= 3·4011 \times 4 = \dots\dots 13·6044$; and the sum of the sides of the circumscribed square $= 4·8099 \times 4 = \dots\dots 19·2399$;

Sum of sides of both squares $= \dots\dots \underline{\underline{32·8444}}$

Then $32·8444 - 1·40888 = 31·4355 =$ height of shaft of column, and $31·4355 + \frac{3·4011}{2} = 33·1360 =$ height to abacas; next $32·8444 + 1·40888 = 34·2533 =$ full height of column to top of abacas. Further, $3·4011 \times 2 = 6·8022 =$ breadth, or side of square of abacas. And, $34·2533 - 31·4355 = 1·40888 \times 2 = 2·8177 =$ height of curved portion of capital.

To conclude, $\frac{1·40888}{2} = ·70444 =$ versed-sine to the chord, the side of inscribed square; also it is the side of a square, formed by producing sides of

inscribed square to sides of circumscribed square.
 The diagonal of this square = $\cdot 9961$, and $\frac{6 \cdot 2188}{2}$
 $= 3 \cdot 1094 =$ radius at bottom ; and last, $\frac{4 \cdot 8099}{2} =$
 $2 \cdot 4049 =$ radius at top of column.

All this, when set out geometrically full size, becomes simple and quite obvious : or by diagrams may be illustrated.

By the process described every necessary dimension is obtained for more than *fifty thousand superficial feet of the surface of the Parthenon being executed accurately* ; or if the whole of the parallelogram enclosed by the upper step be taken, *more than seventy thousand superficial feet* ! and, all this in proportion for a building of any other size, may be obtained by the same process from any given length for end upper step : and doubtless all the process to execute every other proportion in the temple may now be rediscovered.

Very much of what is now given might be set out and exhibited full size temporarily, at the Architectural Museum ; and permanently, as well as the curves of the upper step and the entasis of the columns, be placed in the British Museum, for which space can be pointed out, in connexion with the remains of the Parthenon there ; for the inspection and instruction of the tens of thousands who visit that Temple of Knowledge.

The following comparison of Mr. Penrose's measurements with the author's calculations it is hoped will make this process distinct.

AN ARRANGEMENT OF THESE MEASUREMENTS OF THE PARTHENON, BY MR. PENROSE,
AND THE RESULTS OF AUTHOR'S CALCULATIONS COMPARED.

No.	Averages from Mr. Penrose's Measurements	Author's Calculations from.	
1	101·367	101·44	The length of upper step at ends given, to find the following. This is equal one leg of a right angled triangle.
2	50·683	50·72	= one half of end = distance to centre of fourth opening at sides from ends.
3	25·341	25·36	= one quarter of end and one ninth of side.
4	76·024	76·08	= three quarters of end = another leg of a right angled triangle.
5	228·170	228·24	= the length of upper step at sides = $101·44 + 101·44 + 25·36$.
6	126·803	126·80	= hypotenuse of right angled triangle = upper step at sides, less upper step at ends = $\frac{5}{9}$ of side.
7	14·083	14·08888	= one ninth of $\frac{5}{9}$ of sides = general distance from centre to centre of columns.
8	197·166	197·24444	= fourteen times $\frac{1}{9}$ of $\frac{5}{9}$ of side = the sum of the number of equal divisions from centres of second columns from ends.
9	.....	70·4444	= five times $\frac{1}{9}$ of $\frac{5}{9}$ of side = the sum of the number of equal divisions at ends from centres of second columns from sides.
10	30·974	30·9555	= $228·24 - 197·24444$. The half of $30·99555 =$.
11	15·487	15·49777	= from mason's line to centre of second column, each way from all the corners, ends and sides.
12	.....	1·40888	= <i>the pivot</i> , or $15·49777 - 14·08888$; also the difference between the sides of an inscribed and circumscribed square to a circle, and $\frac{1}{10}$ of $\frac{1}{10}$ of $\frac{5}{9}$ of side.
13	.....	1·9922	= the diagonal of a square whose side is 1·40888, also the difference of the distances from centres of columns = $14·0888 - 12·0966$.

14	3 357	3·4011	= the sum of 1·9922 + 1·40888 = the distance from the mason's line to the line of centres of columns on each side and each end; also = side of inscribed square.
15	.....	12·09666	= 15·49777 = 3·4011 = distance from centre of angle columns to centre of second columns each way from each angle.
16	.....	1·7005	= half of side of inscribed square.
17	4·816	4·8099	= the diagonal of the inscribed square; also, the side of circumscribed square, and top diameter of column.
18	6·25	6·2188	= the sum of 4·8099 + 1·40888 = bottom diameter of column.
19	.....	13·6044	= the sum of the sides of the inscribed square = 3·4011 × 4.
20	.....	19·2399	= the sum of the sides of the circumscribed square = 4·8099 × 4.
21	.....	32·8444	= the sum of the sides of both squares.
22	31·432	31·4355	= the sum of the sides of both squares, less the pivot, = 1·40888 = the height of the shaft of column.
23	.....	33·1360	= the height of the shaft added to 1·7005 = half the side of inscribed square = height to abacus.
24	34·25	34·2533	= the sum of the sides of both squares added to the pivot = the full height of column, to top of abacus.
25	1·145 } 1·125 }	1·116	= depth of abacus.
26	6·858 } 6·757 }	6·8022	= twice side of inscribed square = breadth of abacus, or side of its square.
27	2·818	2·8177	= height of curved portion of capital = 1·40888 × 2.
28	.....	·70444	= versed-sine to chord of side of inscribed square, also a side of a square.
29	.....	·9961	= diagonal of this square.
30	3·125	3·1094	= radius at bottom of column.
31	2·408	2·4049	= radius at top of column + ·70444 = 3·1094.

N.B.—To some of Mr. Penrose's measures must be added the space, or twice the space, for the mason's line to hang clear, as well as the inclination of upper step; and to others a proportion of these quantities.

Capital of Columns.

I have not had the *opportunity* of sufficiently examining and studying Mr. Penrose's large book, to enable me to determine the probable character and source of the curved profile of the capital, nor whether it is one line, or composed of two parts of different curves. In either case, I doubt not but that it will be found in the Septenary system, nor connected therewith, and with *curved* and *plane* sections of curved solids.

Flutes of Columns.

From a first trial, the sections of the flutes appear to be elliptical. An arc of an ellipse whose diameters are in the proportion of 4 : 9, appears applicable at the bottom of the column. The depths of the flutes it is considered may be deduced from the calculations made. The sections of the flutes at the top of the column indicate an arc of an isometrical ellipse.

With a mould to the horizontal section at the bottom of the column, the whole length of each flute may be adjusted, or any number of elliptical arcs for horizontal sections at every point required in the height, may be easily practically determined.

The flutes of columns may have been introduced to mark more distinctly their profile, as well as to multiply variety between the delicate curve of the entasis and a perfect right line ; similar to what must take place in the vibrations of a harp string.*

* The irregular lines of reflection of the entasis of the granite columns in Pall Mall, from the polished surface, does not add to their beauty.

Modifications, &c.

The delicate curves, the flutes, the inclination and the increase in the size of the angle columns, may have been introduced to hide as well as give variety to, and to clothe the more simple and strictly geometrical laws. For the same reason the quickest point in the curve, of which a portion is the entasis, is hidden in the ground; and the points from which the mason's lines were stretched are obliterated.

During the erection of such a work as the Parthenon—wet and dry weather—heat and cold—storm and calm—not to say wear and tare of moulds, of whatever material they were made, may have produced some variation from the strict laws followed, with such care by all the workmen employed, that it is scarcely perceptible.

Remarks.

Before so many results as have been obtained from the length of the end upper step of the Parthenon by the train followed, it will be manifest that

First—Such must have been the laws of the original design.

Second—The work must have been accurately executed.

Third—That sufficient of the Temple must have endured for twenty-three centuries.

Fourth—And that the measurements by Mr. Penrose must clearly have been as carefully made as the original work was executed.

This may be considered one of the wonders of the world. What other building will admit of such close investigation?

If I had no other means to judge from than the excellent speech of His Royal Highness Prince Albert, so recently at Birmingham, the eternal laws of proportion and form to which I have so long invited attention, would be of the greatest value there, if adequately represented.

Will any one after knowing what His Royal Highness has just said, venture to make the War an excuse for delaying the commencement of an extensive survey and exhibition of the results of the laws of truth and distinctiveness of character, for improving and varying by just principles every object of art?

The minute and delicate and other exact curves and proportions in the Parthenon, doubtless tended greatly to inspire the sculptor's mind, and to instruct the eye *truly to observe*. But, from the finest specimens of sculpture, the eternal, natural, and geometrical laws for the forms and the proportions of the frame work (strictly the architecture,) of the Parthenon, could never have been deduced.

To record all that is desirable on the parts referred to on this interesting subject, would require a much larger work with several diagrams; but it is hoped that sufficient has been given to justify the title—A Key to Proportions of the Parthenon—even if the following test be applied:

“If the results obtained by calculations made according to the theory, do not in every instance, mathematically agree with those derived from measurements of the buildings, then the theory may be laid aside as a mere speculative fancy unsupported by evidence.”—*Pennethorne*.

THE END.

A KEY

TO

PROPORTIONS OF THE PARTHENON.

BY

JOSEPH JOPLIN, ARCHITECT.

"I have found it! I have found it."—*Archimedes*.

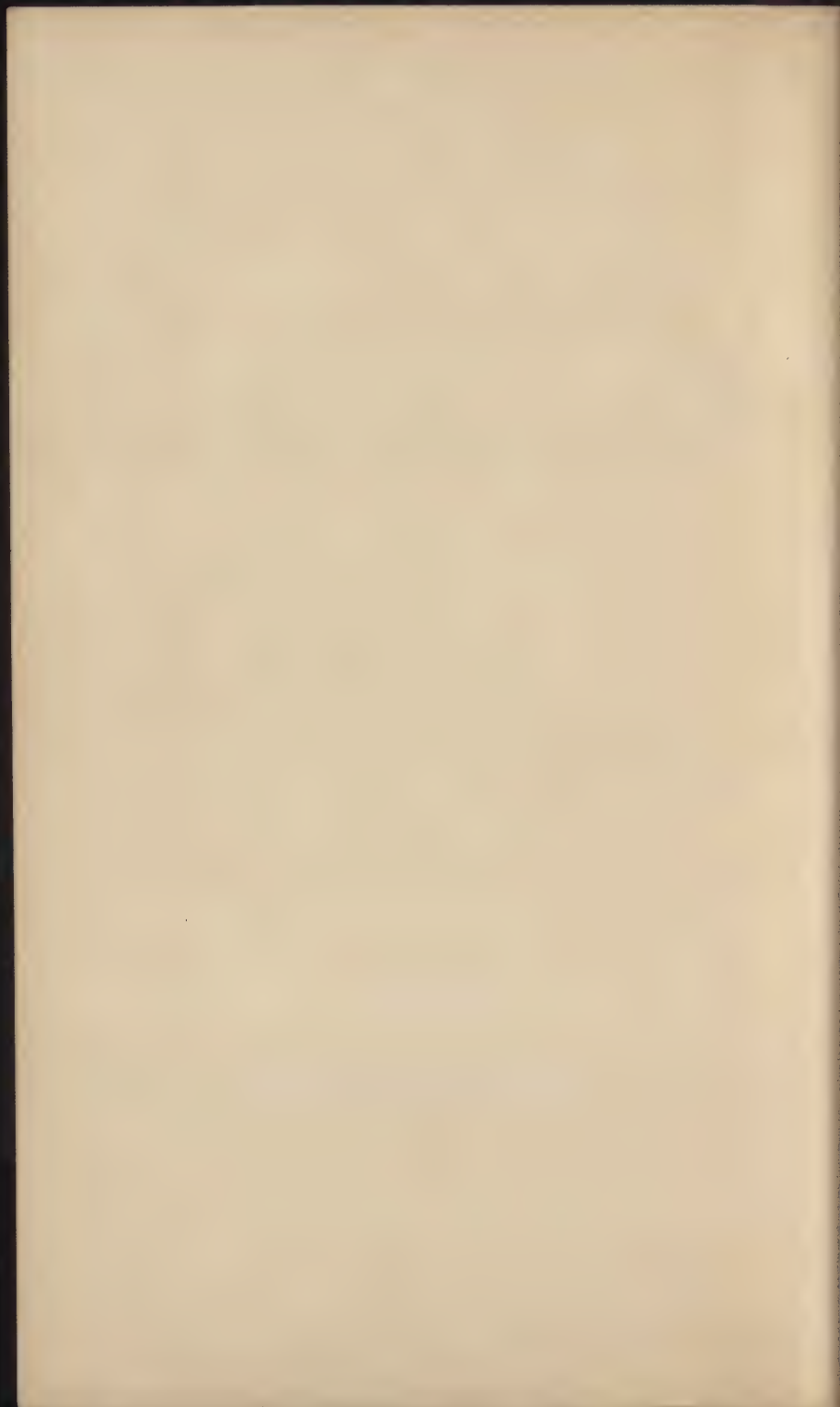
No. II.

WITH SEVENTEEN DIAGRAM.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,
6, BRIDGE ROAD, ST. JOHN'S WOOD.

1856.



A KEY

TO PROPORTIONS OF THE PARTHENON.

No. II.

At the conclusion of the First Part of this Work it was intimated "To record all that is desirable, would require a much larger work with several diagrams."

Further progress having been made, a few wood cuts being considered essential for easy comprehension, with an effort these and some additional facts had been arranged ;

When on the 18th of January, 1856, I received, to take home, Mr. Penrose's Work on "Principles of Athenian Architecture," from the "Architectural Museum," for a short time to examine and study.

This has added something more, which will appear in the progress.

The Pivot.

It has been shewn that the distance from the *mason's line* to the centre of second columns each way from all the angles is = 15.4977
And that the average distance from

centre to centre of all other columns
 surrounding the Parthenon is = 14·0888
 The difference—*the Pivot* = 1·4088
 This being exactly equal $\frac{1}{10}$ of 14·0888
 and consequently is $\frac{1}{11}$ of 15·4977

It was soon discovered that *the Pivot* would divide the upper step at both the ends and the sides into equal parts, thus:

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} \text{Ends.....} \frac{101\cdot44}{72} \\ \text{Sides.....} \frac{228\cdot24}{162} \end{array} \right\} = 1\cdot40888 \text{ the Pivot.}$$

and also

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} \frac{3}{4} \text{ of end} \frac{76\cdot08}{54} \\ \frac{5}{4} \text{ of end....} \left. \begin{array}{r} 126\cdot80 \\ 90 \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{or} \\ \frac{5}{4} \text{ of side....} \end{array} \right\} = 1\cdot40888 \text{ ditto.}$$

It was therefore thought possible that this being thus so evidently *a unit*, may have been some standard measure of the ancient Greeks.

The diagonal of a square whose side is 1· is = 1·41421
the Pivot being = 1·40888
 and if it be taken as a diagonal, it indicates the side of a square approximating very closely to 1· or = ·9961
 also if *the Pivot* = 1·40888
 be the side of a square, the diagonal of that square will be = 1·9922.

This is a very near approximation to the two-foot English rule, standard measure.

This process of alternately making a measure either the side or diagonal of a square, may be continued either way, to increase or diminish measures in proportion.

These were then compared with the following, selected from recorded measures.

TABLE I.

English one foot	= 1.000	
Nuremburg town foot	= .997	Vega.
Derived from <i>the Pivot</i>	= .9961	
Nuremburg town foot	= .996	Hutton.
Florence foot.....	= .995	ditto.

TABLE II.

Bargamo foot.....	= 1.431	ditto.
Milan aliprand foot	= 1.426	ditto.
Diagonal of a square whose side is 1. foot	} = 1.41421	
The Pivot (Parthenon).....		= 1.4088
Padua foot.....	= 1.406	ditto.

TABLE III.

English two feet rule.....	= 2.000	
Diagonal of square whose side is the Pivot 1.40888	} = 1.9922	
Lucca Braccio		= 1.958 Cavallo.
Prague ell	= 1.948	Vega.
Geneva foot	= 1.919	Hutton.

The previous were arranged before seeing that Mr. Penrose gives :

Roman foot	{	= .968
		= .972
		= .973
Greek foot	{	= 1.008
		= 1.014 *
		= 1.0125; this he

adopts to measure upper step, but any reference to a Greek foot less than the English foot has not been observed in his Work.

The application of the Pivot as the side of a square and its diagonal to give the distance from the mason's line to the centres of all the columns has been explained, but will be much better understood by the diagram, figure 4, when that comes to be described, at page 27.

Plan of Outline Upper Step.

Fig. 1 is the plan of the outline of the upper step (mason's line), shewing how, from a given length, for the end to obtain *five* equal divisions geometrically, and then to set off a right angle by the proportions 3, 4, and 5; and next, producing the longer leg for the side of the parallelogram until it

* The measure I have taken for the breadth (mason's lines) upper step = 101.44; and this $\frac{101.44}{100} = 1.0144$; is a close approximation to this Greek foot given by Mr. Penrose as the largest limit.

Fig. 1.



is in the proportion of 9 : 4. See page 6, first part of Key.

In addition to shewing the end, by bisection,

divided into four equal parts, and AB being produced to C to obtain *five* equal parts, which are applied in forming the right angled triangle ADE, producing AE to F, and then setting off nine divisions, and completing the parallelogram—the relative proportions of the sides of the right angled triangle, viz., 54, 72, and 90, and of the parallelogram, viz., 162 and 72, by the same unit of measure the Pivot are given upon this plan, (these will be referred to hereafter,) and also the angles of a triangle whose sides are 3, 4, and 5, viz., $32^{\circ}4'$, $57^{\circ}6'$, and 90° are added.

The Plan of Upper Step with the Arrangement of the Centres of Columns.

Fig. 2. The outline of this figure is the same as the parallelogram in figure 1.

The peculiar arrangement of the centres of exterior columns, explained from pages 8 to 11 inclusive, is given in this plan, with the dimensions, except the general distance between centres and centres of columns 14·0888.

This division $\frac{1}{9}$ of $\frac{5}{9}$ of sides, and $\frac{1}{9}$ of $\frac{5}{4}$ of ends (explained in the next figure) is subsequently divided by 10, for the Pivot.

Outline plans of figs. 1 and 2 were sent to the *Builder*, with explanations, in February, 1854, but returned on the 2nd of June in that year, before the Crystal Palace at Sydenham was opened. Communications had been previously made to Mr.

Penrose in November and December, 1853, in reference to this and the application of the Catenary curve to upper step of Parthenon.

Fig. 2.

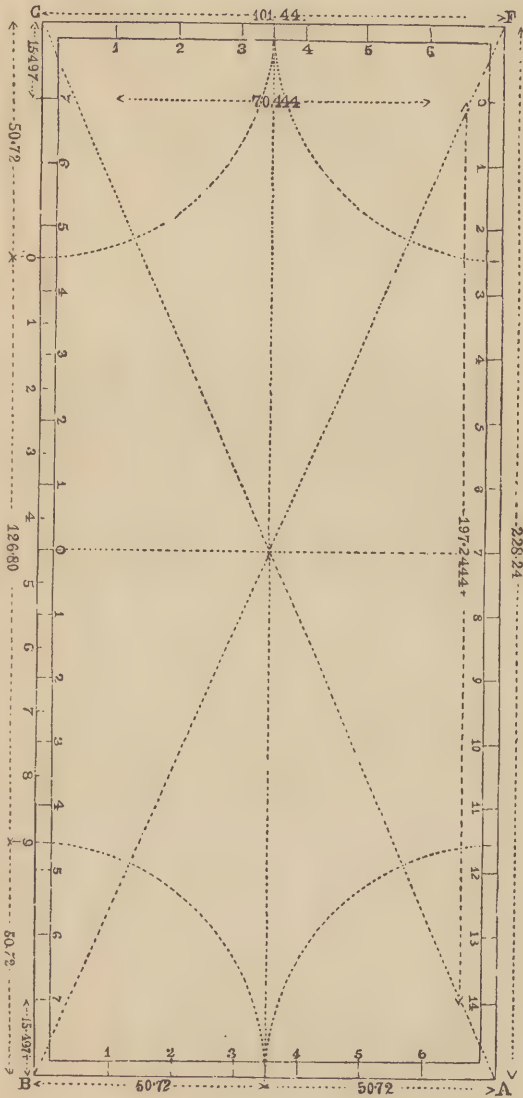


Fig. 3.

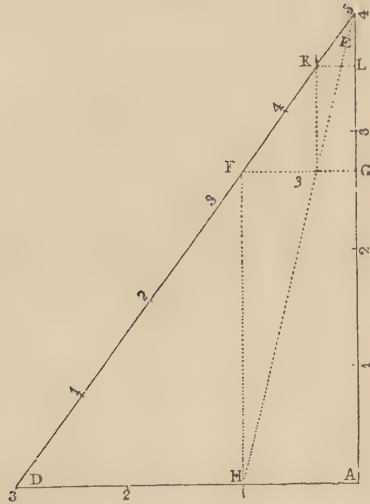


Fig. 3 shews the geometrical process of obtaining $\frac{1}{9}$ of $\frac{5}{9}$, as set out on fig. 2. The sides of the right angled triangle being in the proportions of 3, 4, and 5, and are on fig. 3 thus divided:

A perpendicular erected from $\frac{1}{3}$ of the shorter leg, cuts off $\frac{1}{3}$ of the hypotenuse: and a perpendicular let fall from that point of the hypotenuse on to the longer leg, cuts off $\frac{1}{3}$ of that.

Then from $\frac{1}{3}$ on the shorter leg draw the line HE, and then $\frac{1}{3}$ of the perpendicular FC is cut off. Next erect a perpendicular from the $\frac{1}{3}$ of FG to cross the hypotenuse at K, and $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ is cut off, being $\frac{1}{9}$ of $\frac{5}{9}$ (the hypotenuse) of $228 \cdot 24 = 14 \cdot 0888$. This is applied in the divisions on fig. 2; the general distance from centre to centre of columns;

and of centre to centre of openings between columns.

On the Division of a Circle into 360° .

Before the appropriateness and harmony of the divisions just explained and used in the Parthenon, and others which are to follow, can be fully comprehended, it appears desirable to describe a process for the division of a circle into 360° ; which peculiar division, from facts found recorded in the Parthenon, prove it to have been known and practised before that structure was designed, if there is no other evidence when such a division was first made.

Various other divisions of a circle are of great importance in giving harmonious variety and distinctiveness of character to forms and designs, on which much might be written.

But to return to the peculiar division of 360° . This number may be divided by all the digits except 7, without a remainder.

The *first* step in such a division of a circle is to draw a diameter across it; the *second*, another diameter at right angles to the first; thus bisecting the whole circle, and then each half, by which the circular line is divided into four equal parts or quarters.

The division of the end upper step, fig. 1, into four equal parts, may be considered analogous to this.

Each of the quarters of the circle is then divided by the radius into three equal parts.

In the division of a right line into four, three parts are also obtained, which are required, as well as the four, by the process used in setting off a right angle.

The next division of the circle required is the trisection of $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ to obtain $\frac{1}{9}$ of the quadrant.

This possibly may have first suggested the *trisection of an angle*; which practically, can be accomplished, as accurately, with proportionate facility, and by as direct means, as simple bisection.

Or any angle, with proportionate facility, and equal accuracy, can be divided practically into any number of equal parts.

The process of dividing a right line into *three*, and its *third* into *three*, is shewn in the diagram fig. 3.

The last division of the circle to obtain one degree of 360° , is to divide $\frac{1}{9}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ into ten equal parts. The first step in this last stage is by bisection, which gives a division equal to five degrees.

Here the same geometrical difficulty would arise as in the trisection; but this, as has been stated, can practically be as accurately made as bisection.

And the division of a given right line into *five* equal parts can be accomplished geometrically in the same way as the divisions into three and nine, which have been explained.

Thus we have a division by *five*, analogous to the five divisions used with the *three* and the *four* in setting off a right angle, and which assists in the peculiar arrangements of the columns surrounding the Parthenon.

Each $\frac{1}{9}$ of $\frac{5}{9}$ is thus divided:

$$\frac{14.0888}{10} = 1.40888 = \text{Pivot.}$$

So the Pivot may be considered to be obtained by a division analogous to that by which one degree of a circle is determined.

Fig. 4—(page 28).

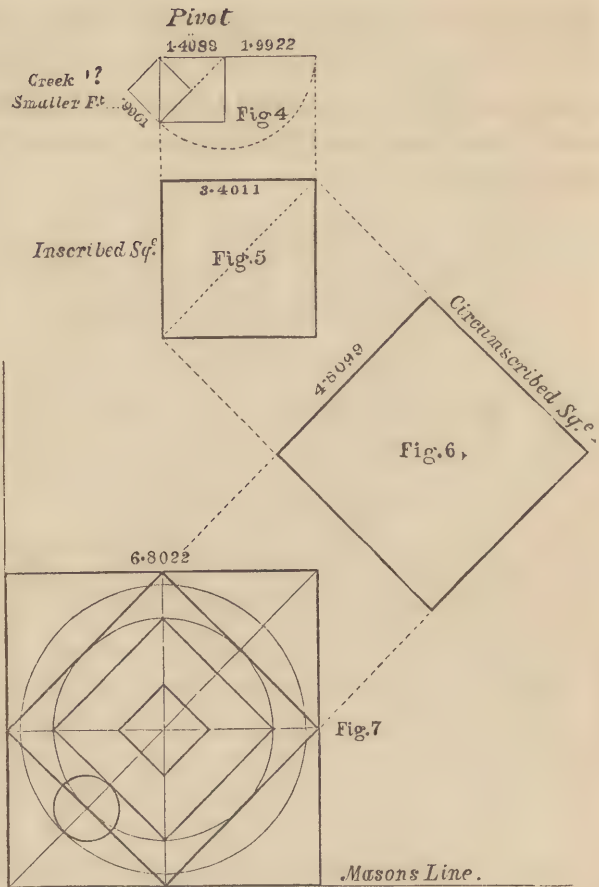
Here a square is represented, whose side = 1.40888 (the Pivot); on one side of which is shewn the diagonal = 1.9922 produced; and on the other side the Pivot is the diagonal of a square, whose side = .9961; perhaps equal to a smaller Greek foot?

Fig. 5—(page 28).

A square, the side of which is derived from the side and the diagonal of Pivot square fig. 4, is the *inscribed square* to the circle at the top of the shaft of the column, the side of which is = 3.4011.

Fig. 6—(page 28).

Is the *circumscribed square* to the same circle. The side of this square = 4.8099, being equal to the diagonal of square fig. 5.



Plan of intermediate columns.

Fig. 7.

In this the figures 4, 5, and 6 are combined, with the circles at top and bottom of the intermediate columns. The outer circle being in diameter greater than the inner by 1.40888, the Pivot; or in radius by .70444 = versed sine to side of inscribed square, shewn by small circle.

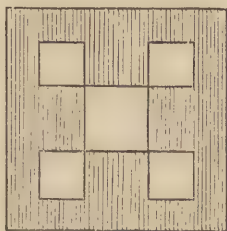
The square circumscribing diagonally, the square circumscribing the circle at the top of the shaft, gives the plan of the abacas, and the position of the mason's line from centres of all the columns at bottom on upper step.

Fig. 8.



Fig. 8 is formed from fig. 7, and something like it is represented on a small scale on a fillet in Mr. Penrose's Work (*plate 22*).

Fig. 9.



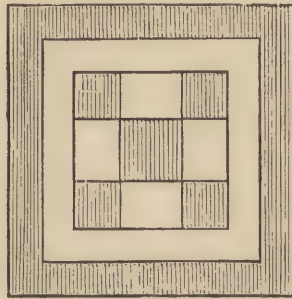
Is formed from the square of the Pivot, and the inscribed and circumscribed square to the circle at the top of the shaft of the column.

The law by which so much of the columns were proportioned, may be indicated by a figure in the fret on the architrave band, resembling this. The

other lines of the fret may also have a reference to the same.

What is there in this fret, except that it may contain evidence of some knowledge that would entitle it to so important a position as it occupies? (See plate 22, Mr. P.'s Work.)

Fig. 10.



This is formed from the square of the Pivot, the inscribed and circumscribed square to circle at top of shaft, and also circumscribed square to circle at bottom of columns.

In another fret, something like this may have indicated so much more of the law by which the columns were proportioned. (See plate 22, Mr. P.'s book.)

Figs. 8, 9, and 10 have been introduced since having had Mr. P.'s book to study.

To enter into the evidences in Mr. Penrose's Work "on the Principles of Athenian Architecture," (which he has not touched) of a knowledge

by the Greeks not only of the plane conic sections, but also of curved sections of cones and other curved solids, geometrically, and of apparatus for describing curves, &c., opens out far too large a work to be attempted unaided.

For the increase of the Diameter or Radius of Angle Columns.

It has been seen that the distance from the centre of the second columns

each way from the angles..... = 15·4977

One tenth of which is = 1·54977

And one tenth of latter..... = ·15497

for increase in diameter.

Then $\frac{·15497}{2} = ·077488$, a very appropriate increase in radius to the circles of intermediate columns, both at top and bottom, for angle columns.

The increase to the angle columns should be a parallel addition, as it would, if less at top, appear more tapering than the intermediate columns.

On the Circumscribed Circle for Base of intermediate Columns, and the increase for Angle Columns.

The diameter of intermediate columns at bottom as given by the diagram and calculations is 6·2188.

But as the circle would be reduced in profile by the parts cut off by the chords of the arcs of two flutes, let the diameter be increased by the versed sine to the chord of the flute, and the full diameter

of the intermediate columns at bottom will then be $6.2188 + .031 = 6.25$; the exact measure given by Mr. Penrose.

The longest chord from cusp to cusp of flutes, (parallel to diameter of intermediate columns) = 6.2188
 + .1549 = 6.3738

Additional increase for clothing
 with entasis = .0042

 6.3780 =

Mr. Penrose's measure for diameter of circle of angle column at bottom.

On the Heights of different parts of the Columns.

From the diagrams now introduced and the explanations and dimensions given at page 10, the different heights, and how practically ascertained full size, will, it is hoped, be manifest.

Here it may be added, that the *point of contrary flexure* in the profile of the capital is = .70444 (half the pivot) above the top of the shaft of the column. See fig. 12.

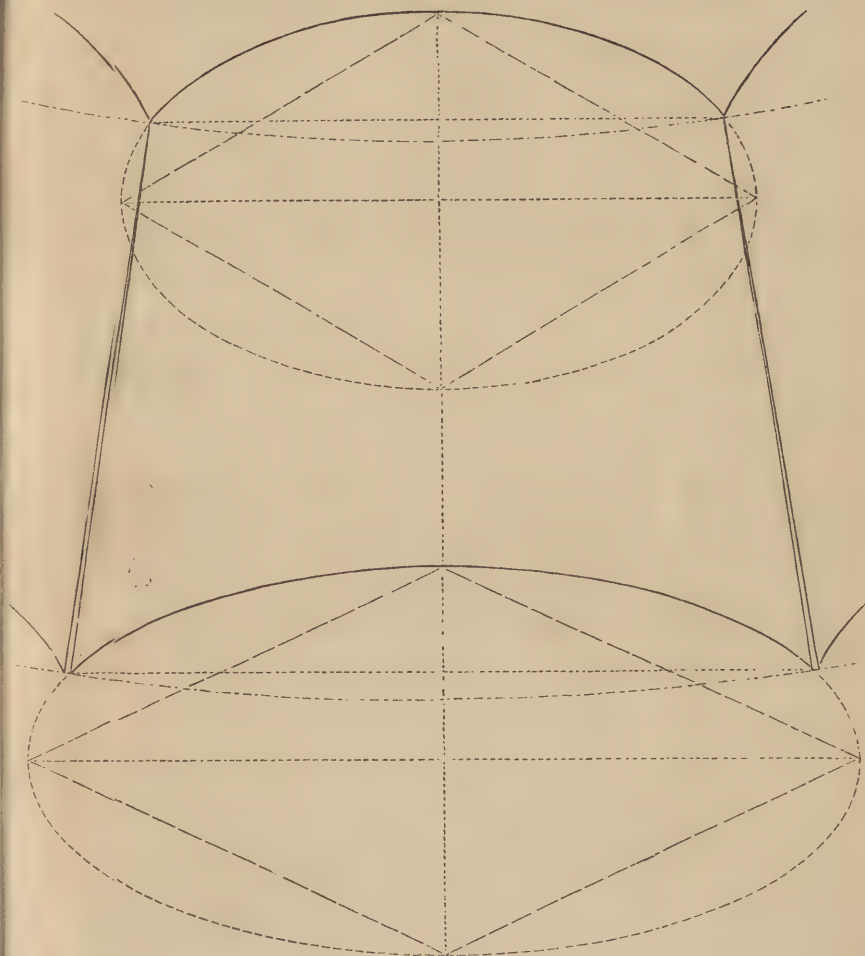
Fig. 11.

Flutes of Columns, second notice.

The number of flutes in the columns is 20,* and the number of degrees in each flute is 18° .

* See fig. 16.

Fig. 11.



These numbers are obtained by dividing

$$\frac{162}{9} \quad \frac{90}{5} \quad \frac{72}{4} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{54}{3} = 18.$$

Also thus, $162 - 90 = 72 - 54 = 18$, the
number of degrees.

c

And $\frac{360^\circ}{18^\circ} = 20$ the number of flutes.

The depth of flutes for intermediate columns may be determined thus — The Pivot $= \frac{14.0888}{100} = .140888$ the depth of flutes.

For angle columns — $\frac{15.4977}{100} = .15497 =$ depth of flutes.

This, the plan of a flute, $\frac{1}{3}$ full size, shewing elliptical arcs as sections, at top and bottom as intimated at page 14, will make evident this method of determining and adjusting the flutes at every part of their height with the greatest ease and accuracy by one mould.

The mould will be horizontal at the bottom, and be gradually inclined as the flute narrows, until the angle is about 40° . No other curve is so applicable for this as the ellipse.

Second Notice on Modifications.

Doubtless every modification was made by a law derived from something ascertained before, and to answer some object. With respect to the columns, the principal modifications are the following :

1st. The clothing of the shaft with an Entasis, not only to increase the thickness by its deviation from a chord, but also to give designed variety and increased beauty in appearance by the varying deviation of the edge of each flute from a right line on the elevation ; and a trifle, as explained, may have

been added to the dimensions determined, both at top and bottom by the process I have followed.

2nd. The inclination of the axis of the columns. This will have to be considered in reference to the point of contrary flexure in the profile of the Capital, and the full breadth of the temple at that height.

3rd. The abacas, as given by figure 7, is something *less* than that on the angle columns, and about as much *larger* than those on the intermediate columns. But doubtless that on figure 7 was the leading law.

The modifications from right lines in the longer curves for the steps and architraves may have been determined by a convenient force, by which "*the stretched line*" could be pulled.

Entasis, &c.

Mr. Penrose gives the definition of "*Entasis*" to be "*the stretched line, or bended bow*" !

Yet it does not appear that it ever occurred to him to try the catenary curve to any of "The minute and beautiful curves which the refined minds of the Greek artists led them to substitute for the straight lines and circular forms," "with which the Egyptians,"—"the Romans and their followers" (to the present time) "have been contented."

The greatest deviation of the Entasis from a right line may with great propriety be $\cdot14088 = \frac{1}{10}$ of Pivot.

The word "Catenary," is not to be found either in Mr. Penrose's "Glossary" or "Index."

The Architrave, &c.

Mr. Penrose gives the following measures with great accuracy for the Architrave, viz.,

15·227 feet.

13·966 —

13·889 —

14·210 —

14·128 —

13·617 —

15·263 —

100·300 = Total length in front.

He also gives

for projection of

abacus " $\cdot447$ " $\times 2 = \cdot894$

101·194 = Total breadth of front
at this part.

The point of

contrary flexure

in the Capital falls

back from this

$\cdot79 \times 2 \dots\dots = 1\cdot580 =$ obtained from full
sized drawing of
Capital.

99·614 = 100 times $\cdot9961$, the

side of a square, to which the Pivot 1.4088 is the diagonal!!!! $99.61 = 100$ times .9961!! What extraordinary accuracy in the work of the old Greeks, and in the measurements of Mr. Penrose.

This breadth at the points of contrary flexure in the profiles of the Capitals of the angle columns is shewn in the next fig.

Fig. 12.

Second Notice on Capitals of Columns.

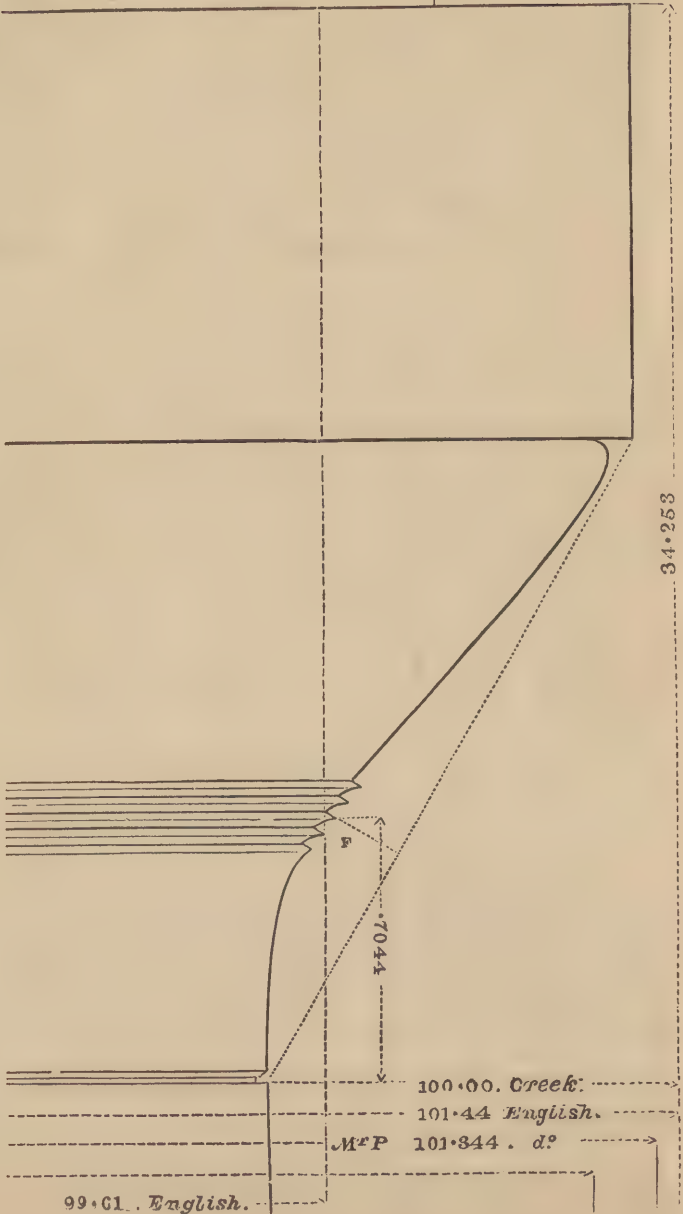
Having made from the dimensions given by Mr. Penrose, a profile of the Capital, full size, I have no hesitation in saying that portions of two catenary curves will give the line as accurately as any hyperbolas, or other curves. This can practically be made manifest.

It is right that it should be stated here that after I had shewn the application of the two catenary curves, full length, of the end upper step and the entasis of a column, at the Architectural Museum, Mr. Bruce Allen first thought of trying the catenary curves to the Capital.

On this figure is given one end of the Architrave as measured so accurately by Mr. Penrose, $= 100.3$ feet; and also a vertical dotted line through the point of contrary flexure between the two curves of the Capital, shewing how much that point is before the profile at the top of the shaft of the column: which, in fact, is the same as the inclination of the columns.

100.3. *English M^rP.*99.61. *d°*100. *Greek Small F²*

Fig. 12.



The breadth of the building at this height, between those points of contrary flexure in the profiles of the angle columns being $= 99.61 = 100 \times .9961$, given in fig. 4; and particularly explained under the head "Architrave, &c."

Points of Contrary Flexure.

Mr. Penrose gives in connexion with the profile of the Capital two points, one at the top of the shaft, and another in the midst of the fillets, already particularly noticed, which he calls points of contrary flexure.

In reality, however, they are not points of contrary flexure.

Of this, and that the line was not truly continuous, the ancient artists appear to have been aware; for, the one point at the top of the shaft is cut off from the curve of the Capital by the sinking, &c., in the neck, and the other point is covered, and the connexion of the two parts of the curved profile of Capital broken by the five fillets.

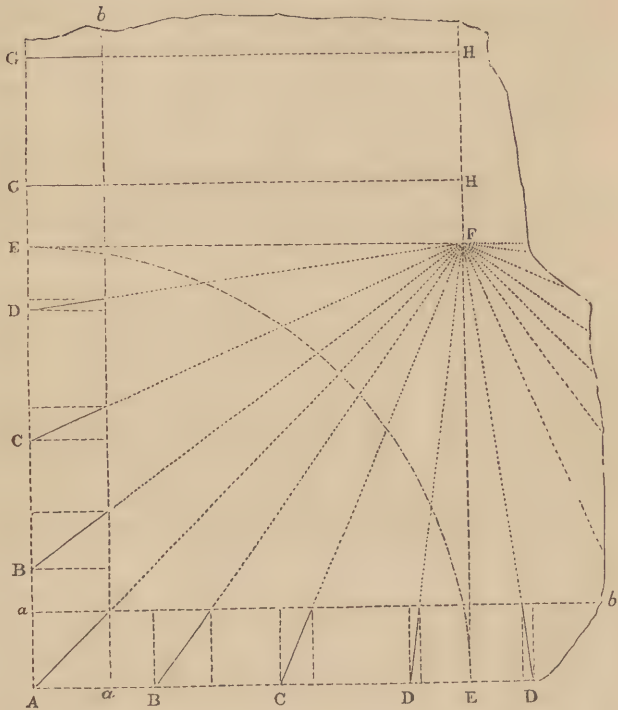
Fig. 13.

The Law of the Inclination of the Columns.

In fig. 13 the line AD passes through all the centres of the columns on the upper step at ends; and the line *ab* parallel to it, through all the centres of the columns at the top of the shafts.

The lines AG and *ab* parallel to it pass through

Fig. 13.



all the centres of columns at bottom and top off shafts at sides.

The radiating lines to F, shew by the dark parts,, the axis of each column with the direction of its inclination projected upon the plan.

The quadrant of circle shews that E at the end and E at the side are at an equal distance from the angle A, as explained in fig. 2.

The lines of inclination of the axis of *nine*

columns at each side are parallel to each other, as those marked G H.

As this agrees with what Mr. Penrose says, it confirms this to be the law by which the peculiar arrangement of the centres of the columns was determined, and which gives a less distance between the centres of the angle and second columns from each corner, than the general distance, for which Mr. Penrose says he was not able to account.

Mr. Penrose ascends by calculation "5856 feet" to give an idea of these several inclinations, which can in this way, practically and simply be set out full size, from a general inclination, to determine the diagonal inclination of the axis of each column.

Mr. Penrose, in his Letters from Athens, gives the inclination, $\cdot 229$. In his large Work, $\cdot 135$ and $\cdot 134$.

I obtain from the length of the Architrave and the full sized profile of the Capital, $\cdot 160$ for the inclination of the axis to the top of the shaft. Perhaps $\cdot 15497$ may have been intended.

Second Notice on Proportion,

9 : 4.

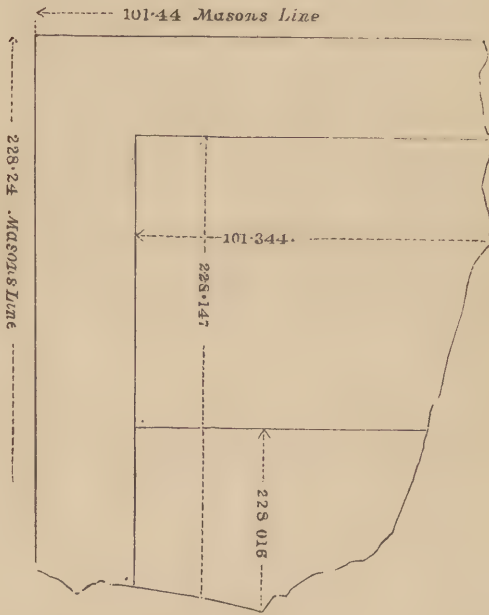
Until examining Mr. Penrose's large Work recently, I did not know that he had said anything on this subject.

His measurements of the upper step not giving this proportion exactly, he has suggested that the difference may have been occasioned by the length

of the Temple having been increased for some reason beyond what it was at first designed.

He therefore reduces the length from 228·144 to 228·016 : these are shewn and the part cut off the length, full breadth, on fig. 14.

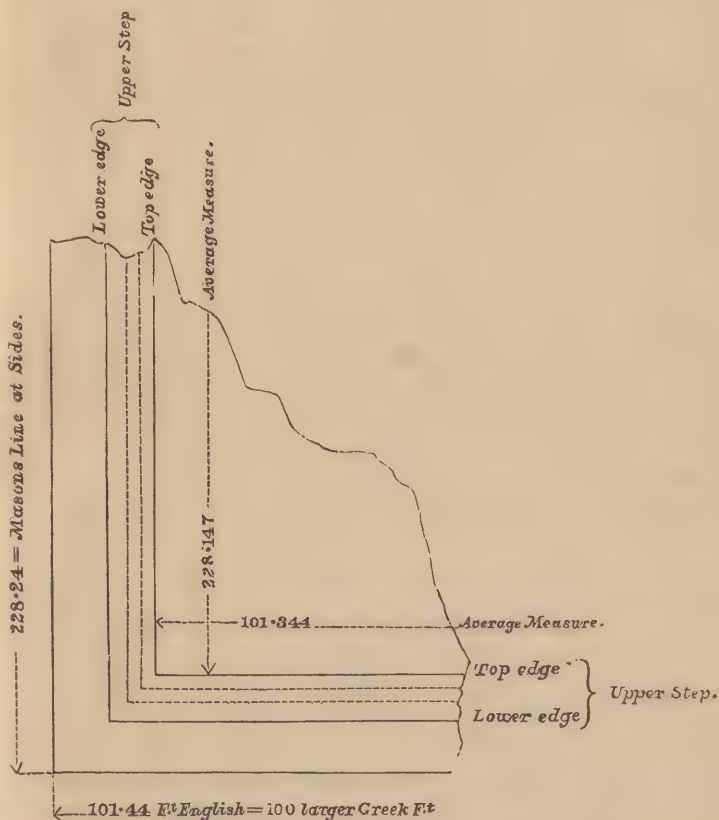
Fig. 14.



Without knowing what Mr. Penrose had done, I sought for a parallelogram in the proportion 9 : 4, equally distant outside, the measures given by him, and by which I obtained the positions of the mason's lines ; which distance is shewn full size above here, and also on fig. 15.

From the measure of the breadth thus obtained, between the mason's lines, all the results have been deduced.

Fig. 15.



On the Inclination of Upper Step and the Position of Mason's Line.

Mr. Penrose, in his Letters from Athens, gives:

“ West front: bottom of upper step.... = 101·370

Since the face of the step shares
the inclination of the axis of the
columns to the extent of ·023 ”

He gives :

“ West front: top of upper step	= 101·347 ”
	·023

Thus making the inclination

$$\frac{·023}{2} = ·0115.$$

But in his larger work, plate 10,
he gives :

“ Bottom of upper step.....	= 101·356
At top.....	= 101·341 ”
	·015

Thus making the inclination

$$\frac{·015}{2} = ·0075.$$

On plate 8 he gives :

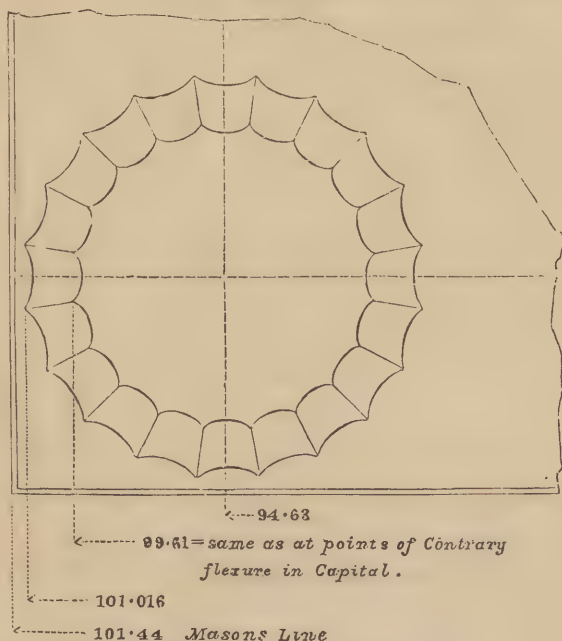
“ Average inclination = ·007.”

These are represented by the dotted lines on fig. 15, which also shews plan of angle on top edge of upper step, and position of mason's line full distance.

However, it is thought that the proper inclination for the upper step would be a line parallel to the tangent of the curve of the entasis at the bottom of the column. This is shewn by the line marked “lower edge” on fig. 15.

From this the mason's line would not be more than sufficient to keep clear of the work when stretched.

Fig. 16.



Plan of Angle Columns.

This, fig. 16, shews the plan of the angle columns at top of shaft and at bottom concentric with each other on top of upper step, with the mason's line.

The breadths of the Temple at the ends, between corresponding parts, are as follows :

1. From centre to centre of angle columns = 94.6377
2. Outside of profiles of top of shafts, shewn concentric with plan at bottom = 99.61

(This is the same as between points of contrary flexure in Capitals = .9961 \times 100, which see in fig. 12.)

3. Outside of profiles of plan of columns
 at bottom = 101·016
4. Top of upper step..... = 101·344
5. Mason's line = 101·44
- $\frac{101\cdot44}{100} = 1\cdot0144$; possibly it is thought the true larger Greek foot.

Hecatompodon.

This term having "suggested the idea that the ancient measure of Greece is to be found in some of its leading dimensions":

It appears desirable that particular attention should be directed to the fact that 1·0144, which is so nearly equal 1·014, a limit of the measure of a Greek foot given (but not adopted) by Mr. Penrose, and which is exactly the 100th part of 101·44 feet, which I have taken for the length of the upper step, and from which I have derived so many dimensions, and amongst the rest ·9961, which being multiplied by 100, gives another length in so peculiar a position, as to render it also, it is submitted, probable, 100 times another Greek foot.

These measures are given at No. 2 and 5 in the last article. From the smaller foot the larger may be obtained, thus. This ·9961, the supposed smaller Greek foot. Then $\sqrt{\cdot9961^2 \times 2} = 1\cdot4088$ the Pivot. Next $1\cdot4088 \times 7\text{Z} = 101\cdot44$ the length of the end upper step.

And $\frac{101\cdot44}{100} = 1\cdot0144$ the larger Greek foot.

Averages.

The averaging principle, it is submitted, is liable to increase errors, if either the largest or smallest measure is in any case nearest the right one.

Although I have averaged Mr. Penrose's largest measures, the measure fixed upon as the true parallelogram of 9 : 4, is outside of the greatest measures given by him, and therefore not likely to be too small.

The accuracy with which, from the breadth thus taken, so many facts are obtained—particularly for the *pivot*, and the full height of the column = 34·253
Mr. Penrose's measurement being... .. = 34·25

and,

Especially the exact measure of 100 times ·9961, being found in so peculiar a position as the breadth of the Temple at the points of contrary flexure in the Capital.

If, in reality, there is any variation from the exact proportions of figs. 8, 9, and 10, has the averaging principle had anything to do with it?

Units of Measure.

1. In whatever way the length of the upper step was first determined to be = 101·44, its unit of measure is $\frac{101\cdot44}{100}$ = 1·0144
2. $\frac{101\cdot44}{4}$ gives a unit of measure = 25·36
which divides the side into 9.

$$3. 25.36 \times 5 = \frac{126.80}{9} \text{ gives } \dots\dots\dots = 14.088$$

This is applied 38 *times* in the division of the distances between centres of columns.

$$4. \frac{14.088}{10} = \text{the Pivot } \dots\dots\dots = 1.4088$$

This divides the ends into 72 }
 The sides into 162 } $\times 2$

= the circuit of upper step into 468 times.

Shorter leg of triangle into.... 54

Larger ditto ditto into 72

Hypothenuse ditto ditto..... 90

The circuit of this triangle.... 216 times.

5. And 1.4088 is the side of a square, which being added to its diagonal 1.9922, gives the side of the inscribed square = 3.4011

6. From 3.4011 + 1.4088 is obtained the diagonal, the side for another square = 4.8099

7. Both 3.4011 and 4.8099 become units of measure, each being repeated four times, and with their difference, the Pivot, plus or minus, in setting off the heights of the columns.

In this way the pivot is applied 720 times.

And more units can be deduced from these.

On the Division of an English Foot and Yard.

The divisions of a foot in length geometrically is effected first by bisection, then again each half by bisection.

This is analogous to the division of a circle into quarters of 90° each, and also of the division of the length of the upper step of the Parthenon into *four*.

The division of each fourth of a foot into 3 inches, is analogous to the quadrant of a circle being trisectial.

If now we take three-fourths of the foot, or 9 inches, and multiply that by 4, we have 36 inches for the yard ; which is analogous to the 36 divisions of the circle of ten degrees each.

Possibly the inch was at first divided into ten.

But the division of an inch by repeated bisections into 8ths and 16ths, may have been adopted as an easier process.

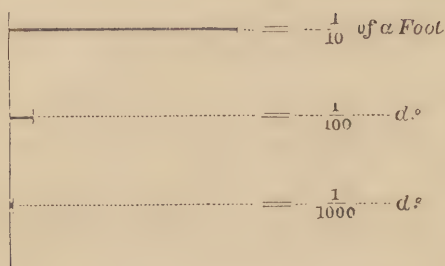
The division of the inch into 10, would have been preferable for calculations, and then $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch would divide the yard into 360, analogous to the 360° of the circle.

Fig. 17.

The Division of a Foot into Tenths, &c.

This being the scale used by Mr. Penrose, it may assist the comprehension of those not accustomed to use such a measure, as to the precise length of the minute divisions which enter into the measurements and calculations, and which determine with so much accuracy the longer and smaller parts of the Parthenon.

Fig. 17.



Conchoids.

Mr. Penrose has noticed the symmetrical "Conchoids" in his Work.

Although the catenary curves are unquestionably the simplest and easiest of application to such delicate and long curves as the upper step and architrave, &c., both at ends and sides, and also for the entasis of the columns ;

Yet the conchoids are more appropriate for representing such lines on drawings, with the utmost approach to accuracy that can be attained.

The conchoids and their reciprocals embrace tens of thousands of useful forms for design and construction. But until known by their appearance and construction they cannot be applied.

A cuspidated conchoidal line has been recently executed as the entasis of the memorial pillar in Ammerdown park, Somersetshire. The line is more than 80 feet long ; and the moulds by which the

masons prepared the work were within $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch of the true line in every part.

Mr. Carter Hall, &c.

Soon after I had set out the delicate catenary curves the full length of the upper step, and of the entasis of the columns of the Parthenon, at the Architectural Museum, Mr. Carter Hall presented his copy of the "Principles of Athenian Architecture" to that Institution; without which this work would not have so soon, if ever, appeared.

Although Mr. Penrose has several times in his work named some of my previous efforts and discoveries, it does not appear that it ever occurred to the *forty-two noblemen and gentlemen* whose names are prefixed to that volume, that that work might assist me in accomplishing something more.

Has any of those to whom they presented copies discovered a single law by which so much of the design of the Parthenon was made and constructed?

Amongst all the architects who have gone from all parts to Athens, has any other measured the Parthenon so accurately as Mr. Penrose, or deduced any of the laws of construction therefrom?

If this should be the case it would not be surprising, as when steps of progress have been made, there is evidence that that has been done sometimes nearly at the same time by persons in different parts entirely unknown to each other.

It is now more than *thirty-three years* since I

made the discovery of what I have termed "The Septenary system of generating lines."

But, up to this time I have not seen any evidence that this, or any thing approaching it, has been any where made by any other person: or, of much that I have discovered since in connexion with the Septenary system.

Often has the enquiry been made, What is the use of the efforts I have so long been making?

But without much previous research out of the path of the schools and professors, I should not have been prepared to make such discoveries as are now recorded.

Why has not Professor Willis given "A Key to the Proportions of Greek Architecture"?

I returned Mr. Penrose's Work to the Architectural Museum, 18th Feb., 1856.

Suggestions.

If the Committee of the Architectural Museum will give instructions for some of these laws by which the Greeks proceeded to be set out full size, I will render all the assistance I can.

This should also be done at the British Museum, in connexion with the remains of the Parthenon, and which might be placed there to great advantage.

And, also at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

Thus thousands and tens of thousands might have the opportunity of making further progress in

applying beautiful lines and proportions to designs and constructions.

If the young architect will only *try* to produce so much of the plan and elevation of the Parthenon for which the data is given in this work, and also do the same from Mr. Penrose's or any other work, he will discover a difference.

From the latter, if he has not already done it, he may try at once.

On the principles now described, it will impress them more upon his mind, if done in connexion with setting out more of the work full size at the Architectural Museum.

Other proportions for columns may be obtained from other inscribed and circumscribed figures, and compared with these, thus:

1. The equilateral triangle.
2. The square (applied in the Parthenon).
3. The Pentagon.
4. The Hexagon. &c., &c.

From all distinctly different proportions, for columns, &c. may be obtained.

My suggestions for a "Gallery of Geometrical Models, &c.," was included in the list of the Commissioners for '51 Exhibition. In the first part of this work I submitted that "War" ought not to be an excuse for the commencement of what is so much required. And now that Peace is hoped for, there can be no plea for delay.

Wherever the position of such a Gallery may

finally be considered best, the commencement of a Collection, and an arrangement of diagrams, specimens of forms, models, and apparatus, ought not for one moment to be protracted.

These might be commenced in any room, and amongst the numerous buildings in the occupation of Government surely one or more could be found for such purpose. If not, why should not Government take the empty galleries at the Palace at Sydenham, in which to commence and exhibit this branch of science, or any other collections? Why keep even those articles which they may have on hand out of sight, when there is such ample space for displaying so much, unoccupied?

Lastly, that these facts should have the revisal of Mr. Penrose, and any other gentlemen competent to examine them, in the process of setting out details full size, and in extending the farther investigation of the Parthenon until the law for proportioning every other part has been re-discovered.

ADDENDA.

"Gothic or Classic?"

Under this head recently in the "Builder," Mr. Tite, M.P. and Mr. G. G. Scott shew clearly how *troublesome* by "minutes" "copy" or "guess"

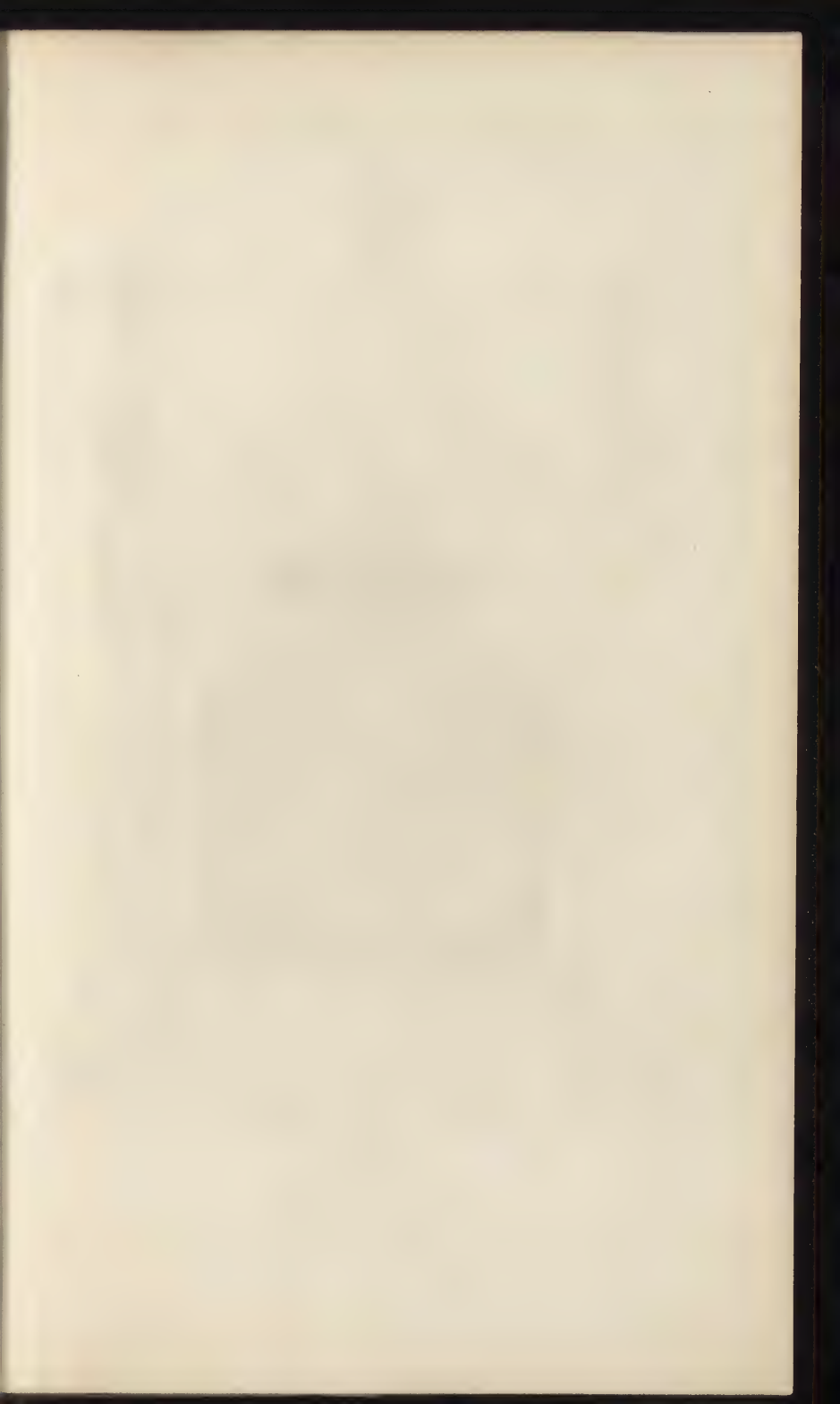
now, take the place of " Science " as so easily and appropriately applied by the Greeks to determine harmonious forms and proportions.

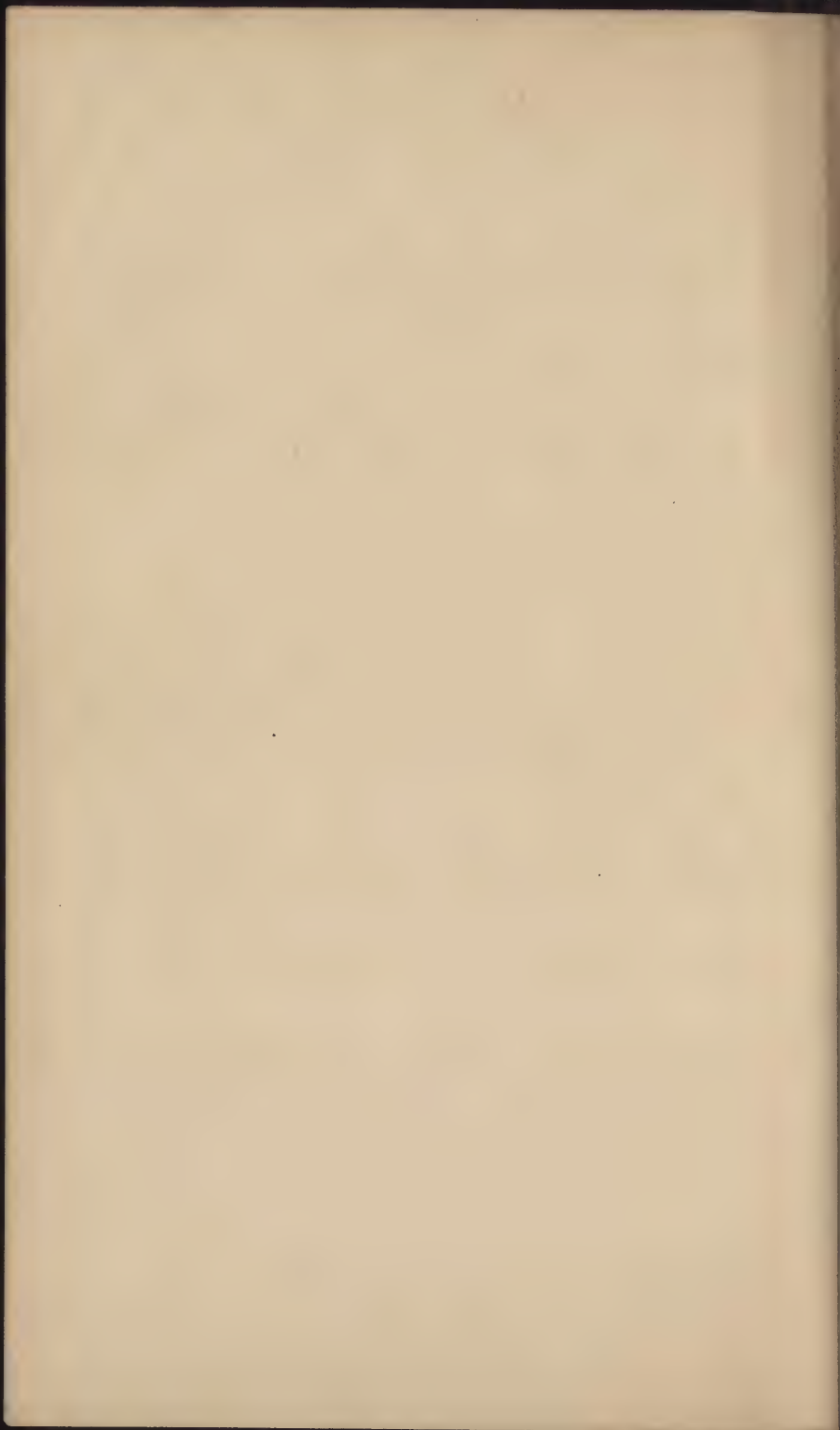
" Science " however still contains an inexhaustible store of principles for form and proportion for every purpose, and for every material, to which design and construction can be applied—for Buttresses, Pillars, &c., as well as Greek Columns, &c., in endless variety, *if sought for*, and *worked out*, without copying. Are there no young Architects in the Institute who will try?

ERRATA.

Page 7, first line, *for* + *put* ×.

„ 10 and 13, fifth line from bottom, *after* 2·8177
read full height of Capital.









MURAL TABLET, SHERRINGTON CHURCH, BUCKS.

NOTICES
OF
Sepulchral Monuments
IN
ENGLISH CHURCHES.

BY
WILLIAM HASTINGS KELKE, A.B.,
RECTOR OF DRAYTON BEAUCHAMP.



St. Mary Overies, Lady Chapel.

LONDON:
CHARLES COX, 12, KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND.
AYLESBURY: PICKBURN.

1850.

“ Handle with reverence each crumbling stone,
Respect the very lichens o’er it grown ;
And bid each ancient monument to stand,
Supported e’en as with a filial hand.”

With the Author's Compliments

TO

THE PRESIDENT,

THE VICE-PRESIDENTS, AND OTHER MEMBERS

OF

The Architectural and Archæological Society

FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM,

THESE NOTICES OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS,

READ

AT THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

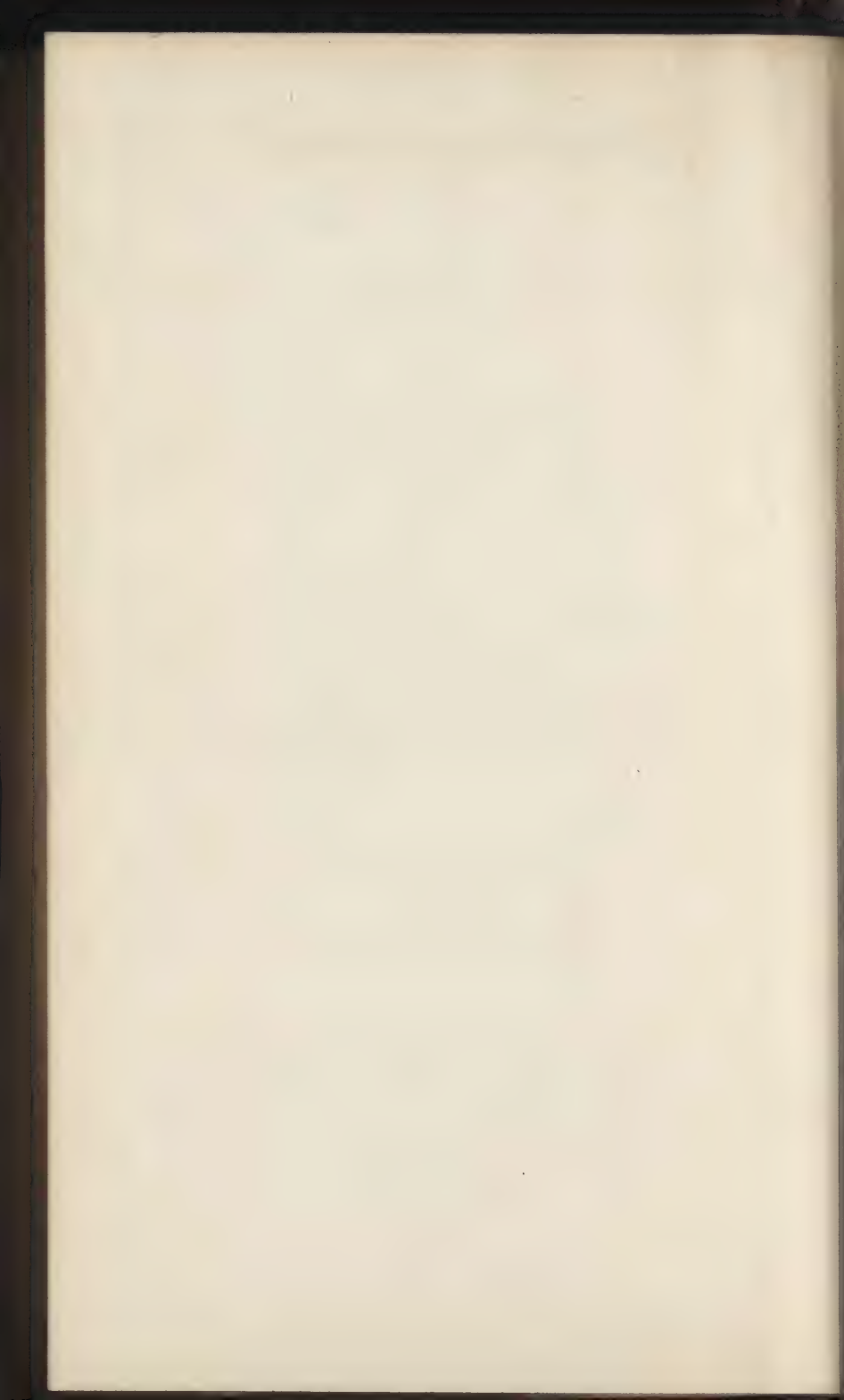
Held at Prince's Risborough, 29th of August, 1850,

AND PUBLISHED AT THE DESIRE OF THOSE PRESENT,

ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

ONE OF THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.



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SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS

IN ENGLISH CHURCHES.

The Value of Monuments.

OUR cathedral and parish churches are noted for the number and variety of sepulchral monuments they contain, all of which are invested with some degree of interest; yet, comparatively, but few persons regard them with any real attention. The sculptor and the antiquary, the architect and the historian, know and appreciate their importance; but their value is not confined to such characters. They are replete with interest for all persons of taste and reflection. Their effigies impart a more correct and vivid idea than the most elaborate description can convey, of the various costumes and general appearance of ecclesiastics and military characters, of civilians and ladies, and of children, in successive generations. Thus they constitute a connecting medium between the present and the past. They present to you feudal lords and ladies of by-gone days; they make you the companions of great and renowned characters; they introduce you into various grades of

society; and make you contemporary with every past generation.

Even where there is no effigy, the reflective mind and feeling heart will find the tombs of such persons powerful incentives to useful and interesting meditation.

But these memorials are especially valuable as contemporaneous records; they not only strengthen and confirm the evidence of parish registers, but frequently furnish additional information. And, what is still more important, they carry back their evidence for centuries before parish registers commence. Their inscriptions often afford information that cannot elsewhere be found; and even when there is not a word upon them, they may be the means, by the character of the sculpture, the costume of the effigy, by the armorial bearings or other devices about them, of establishing important facts. National events have thus been confirmed or illustrated; parochial interests have been adjusted; charitable bequests have been secured from spoliation or rescued from total ruin;* dormant titles have been resumed; and lost property has been recovered. Who then can say that he is not personally interested in the preservation and the study of sepulchral monuments? They may prove equally useful to the rich and the poor; to the learned and the ignorant; to the tradesman, the merchant, and the artist; to the country gentleman, and to Dr. Dry-as-dust, the prosy antiquary. All classes of the community are directly interested in

* Important information respecting a charity left to the poor of the parish in which the author resides, was obtained from the monument of the donor.

them, may study them with advantage, and should do what in them lies to secure them from injury and promote their better preservation.

The Origin of Monuments in Churches.

Sepulchral monuments were originally constructed to contain the remains of the dead or to mark the exact spot of their interment; consequently, in the primitive age of Christianity, when the presence of a dead body was considered defiling to the House of God, such memorials were necessarily excluded from churches. Burial within churches arose out of the doctrine of prayer for the dead; such prayer, it was conceived, would be more effectually secured in those who came to church to worship, if they were perpetually reminded of the departed by the presence of their tombs. Burial in churches, thus regarded as a special privilege, was first granted to distinguished ecclesiastics, to the founders and other liberal benefactors of churches.* The first instance on record in England is that of Augustine, the Roman missionary to the Anglo-Saxons, who was buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, founded by himself, and standing just without the walls of Canterbury. He was first interred outside the church, then in an unfinished state, but after its completion his body was removed into the porch.† After this example the practice gradually increased. From

* Chauncy's History of Herts, vol. ii. p. 485.

† Ib. Hasted's Kent, vol. iv. p. 676, n. Weever, pp. 243, 244.

the porch burial proceeded to the body of the church, but was at first limited to recesses made for the purpose in the walls of the lower part of the church.

The aisles and nave becoming filled, or the chancel being considered a more holy, and therefore more privileged part, tombs were, as a special favour, admitted into it. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, introduced, A.D. 1075, vaults in the chancel, and permitted sepulture even under the high altar.* In the year 1091 the body of Augustine was removed and re-interred near the altar, and an epitaph inscribed on his coffin.

Additional space was soon required as interments multiplied or persons of rank desired separate burial-places for their family. To meet such cases distinct aisles and chapels were added to churches, and exclusively devoted to this purpose, and were oftentimes endowed with an annual stipend in perpetuity, or for a limited period, to ensure the daily services of a priest to chant requiems for the souls of those buried therein. In a few centuries our churches thus became crowded with tombs, adorned with various monumental devices according to the character of religious opinions, and the several styles of architecture extant at the respective periods of their erection. Many—very many—of these ancient memorials have perished, yet happily there are still left us numerous examples of each successive era from the Conquest to the present time. These are to be looked for, not only in magnificent cathedrals where they usually abound, but in all our ancient churches scattered over the face of the country. Early and

* Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, p. 593.

beautiful specimens may not unfrequently be found in the most obscure and remote districts, where the humble and dilapidated appearance of the church would lead the stranger to expect nothing worthy of notice ; but on entering the hallowed temple—

“ Around are tombs of many an age and date ;
O'er gaudy blazonry carved cherubs weep ;
Languages dead and living celebrate
Virtues and races wrapped in death's dull sleep.

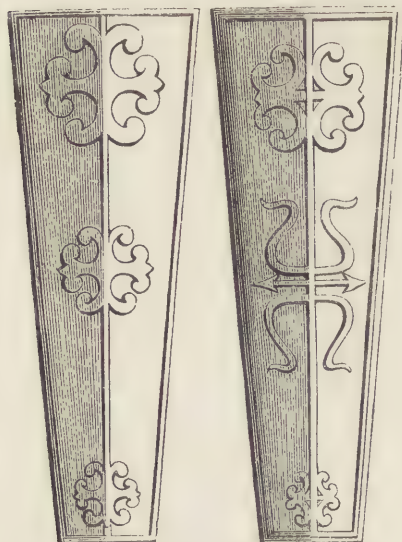
Rigid in marble lies the Norman knight,
His cold hands clasped as in perpetual prayer,
His helmet hangs above, no longer bright,
His breastplate, 'dented with old blows, is there.

Beside him sleeps the dame he bravely won,
In courts and minstrel's lay once wont to shine ;
And there he lies, his valiant day's work done,
Who wore the blood-red cross in Palestine.”

MRS. ACTON TINDAL.



Crusader.—St. Mary Overies.



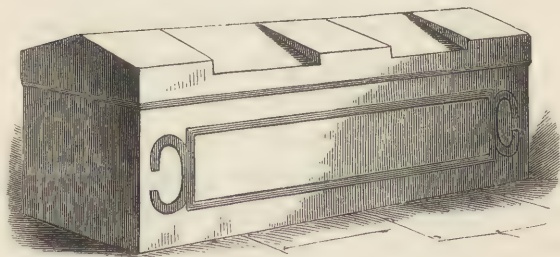
Stone Coffins.—Ixworth Abbey, Suffolk.

Stone Coffins, c. 1070–1400.

The earliest monuments in churches of the Norman period consisted merely of the stone coffins in which the remains of the departed were deposited. Sometimes the coffin was sunk into the ground, and the lid, forming part of the pavement and ornamented with crosses or other emblematic devices, was the only part that appeared. Sometimes the whole coffin, having the sides and ends as well as the lid ornamented with sculpture, was placed aboveground, either on the floor of the church, or in an arched recess made in the wall for its reception. The founder of a church was often thus interred with the coffin resting on the foundation-stone. The lid, which was generally formed to the size of the

coffin, but sometimes of larger dimensions, was frequently coped, or raised to a ridge in the middle, and occasionally the ends were sloped in like manner. The monument of William Rufus in Winchester Cathedral is a well-known example of this kind; and those lately discovered in Aylesbury Church, ornamented with a simple and elegant cross, exemplify a large class belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the fourteenth century the sculpture on stone coffins became more elaborate and more rich in decoration, the whole slab being frequently covered with beautiful tracery and symbolic devices.

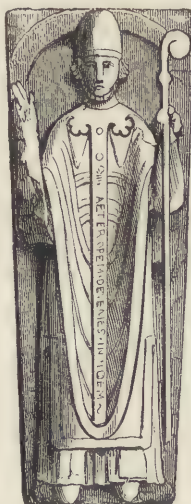
Stone coffins of the *earliest* date are generally without inscription. When inscriptions were used they were variously arranged—sometimes on each side of the cross—sometimes above its head or below its base—sometimes forming a border legend around the verge of the coffin-lid.



Stone Coffin.



One of the early Abbots of Westminster.—Cloisters, Westminster.



Roger, Bishop of Sarum, 1193.—Salisbury Cathedral.



Andrew, Abbot of Peterborough, 1199.—Peterborough Cathedral.

Effigies, c. 1100—continued.

The earliest attempt at monumental effigy appears to have been made towards the beginning of the twelfth century by representing the person commemorated recumbent on the covering slabs of stone coffins. The figure was rudely sculptured in low relief, the background being sunk in the stone, and the effigy rising no higher than the surrounding margin. The effigy in Westminster Abbey supposed to represent Gilbert Crispin, who died in 1114, is the earliest known example of this kind.

A bolder and more elaborate style was soon acquired, and the effigy, executed in higher and higher relief,

seemed to rise out of the stone till it became a perfect and distinct statue. Henceforth it was wrought out of a separate block of marble or stone, and then affixed to its destined tomb. From economical or other motives, however, effigies in various degrees of relief continued in use long after perfect statues were adopted to commemorate persons of rank and distinction. Some remaining specimens of partial effigies are exceedingly curious, and evince the fanciful taste of the sculptor or his employer. The sculpture is sometimes so contrived as to make it appear as if the face, feet, or other portions of the body within were disclosed through apertures in the coffin-lid.

Effigies, whether representing the whole or part of the persons commemorated, were attired in their appropriate costume, and probably were designed to portray their features and personal appearance.



Sarcophagus, said to be Archbishop Theobald's.—Canterbury.



Monument of Edward the Black Prince, in Canterbury Cathedral.

Altar-Tombs, c. 1200-1600.

The commencement of the thirteenth century introduced a new style of monument, called altar or table tombs, which was but an easy transition from the improved character of the stone coffin. These tombs were of an oblong shape, and stood from two to four feet high. The sides and ends were formed of gothic panels, ornamented with shields of arms or other decorations.

Before the close of the century niches were added, containing representations of saints or angels, or the effigies of the children of the deceased. A recumbent marble or alabaster statue of the person commemorated was generally laid on the covering slab, which projected over the tomb, with a chamfered or sloped edge containing the inscription.

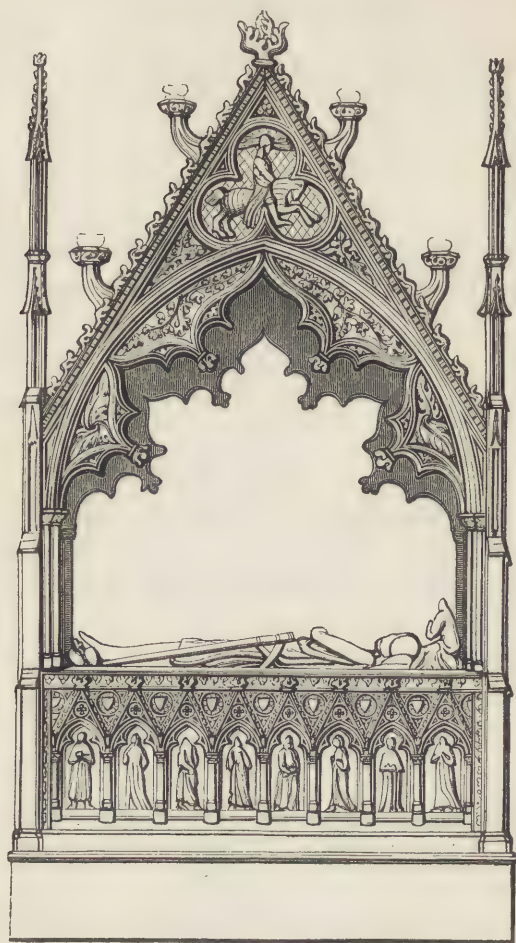
“There erst was martial Marmion found,
His feet upon a couchant hound,
His hands to heaven upraised;
And all around, on scutcheon rich,
And tablet carved, and fretted niche,
His arms and feats were blazed.”

WALTER SCOTT.

If the deceased had been married, the effigies of husband and wife were generally placed side by side, sometimes clasping each other's right hand, but more frequently with the hands of both raised in the attitude of prayer.

The altar-tomb in Salisbury Cathedral of William Longspée, Earl of Salisbury, who died 1226,* is an early example of this kind of monument; that of the Black Prince, shown on the opposite page, is a fine specimen of the fourteenth century.

* Dugdale's Bar., vol. i. p. 177.



Tomb of Aymer de Valence.—Westminster Abbey.

Canopies, c. 1250–1700.

Soon after the introduction of altar-tombs they were strikingly embellished by the addition of canopies. These frequently display the finest architectural taste and most exquisite workmanship. Being supported

over the tomb by lofty columns, they give the whole monument the appearance of a magnificent state-bed, whence this kind of sepulture has not inaptly been described as a perpetual lying-in-state. The tomb in York Minster of Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, who died A.D. 1255, is one of the earliest canopied tombs. The canopy is supported by eight slender pillars of black marble, eight feet high, but the tomb, on which lies a full-length effigy of the prelate, with a crozier by his side, is scarcely higher than a common-sized stone coffin. The canopy in Tewkesbury Abbey over the tomb of Hugh le Despenser, Earl of Gloucester, who died 1359, and that in Canterbury Cathedral over the tomb of Lady Mohun of Dunbar, who died 1395, are exceedingly rich and elegant.*

The Materials of Monuments.

These early magnificent monuments were not always constructed of stone or marble. That noble effigy of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral is wrought of brass and was originally gilt. The tomb of William Longspée, already mentioned, is made of wood, richly painted, diapered and gilt; but the effigy is of grey marble. It was originally in the church of Old Sarum, where the Earl died, but was removed to its present position when the new cathedral was built.† The effigy

* A woodcut of Hugh le Despenser's monument is given in the *Pict. History of England*, vol. i.; and a well-executed print of Lady Mohun's in *Dart's History and Antiquities of Canterbury Cathedral*.

† *Hutchin's History of Dorset*, vol. iii. p. 2.

of Robert Curthose in Gloucester Cathedral is of oak. It is doubtless very ancient, though probably not made till many years after his death. It was in good preservation till the Rebellion, when it was broken in pieces by Cromwell's soldiers; Sir Humphry Tracy, however, purchased the fragments, and having carefully joined them together, restored the monument to its original place in the cathedral after the return of Charles II.*

The effigy in Westminster Abbey of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who died A.D. 1296,† is of wood plated with copper and enamelled, an art introduced from the Continent about this time.‡

The effigy of Sir John de Hautville in the church of Chew-Magna in Somersetshire, is "cut in one solid piece of Irish oak." He was a renowned warrior in the reign of Henry III., and, by traditionary fame, of gigantic strength and stature. A huge stone, called Hautville's quoit, weighing upwards of thirty tons, is asserted to have been thrown by the sturdy knight from his residence to its present place, a distance of more than a mile.§

A metallic composition, called *latten* or *laten*, a material more costly and durable than brass, though now generally bearing that name, was often largely used about altar-tombs and canopies. Scrolls and inscriptions, instead of being cut in the slab of the tomb, were often engraved on narrow plates of this metal, which were sunk into the chamfered edge of the slab, or other

* Atkin's History of Gloucestershire, p. 95.

† Dugdale's Bar., vol. i. p. 776.

‡ Oxford Manual of Brasses, p. 6.

§ Collinson's Somerset, vol. ii. pp. 92, 107, 482.

parts of the tomb. Angels, and other small figures called weepers, placed in niches around the sides of tombs, were often made of this metal.

The Fabrication of Monuments, temp. Ric. II.

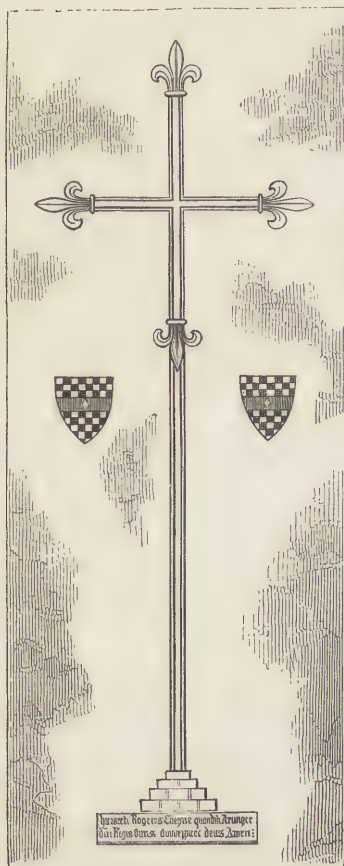
Full and minute directions were given to the artists who constructed these monuments, and often by the persons themselves for whom the tombs were destined. Two curious documents of this nature may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, containing the orders of Richard II. respecting the fabrication and erection of monuments for himself and his consort, Anne of Bohemia, then deceased. The various materials for these monuments, the mode of their construction, and the place of their erection, are minutely specified. These documents, dated A.D. 1395, show that the unfortunate monarch had the satisfaction of seeing his own sepulchral monument executed before his own untimely end.*

Another document in the same work, giving equally minute directions, shows that England at this time had become celebrated on the Continent for this kind of monumental architecture. Joan of Navarre, after her marriage with Henry IV., king of England, being about to raise a monument in the Cathedral of Nantes to her former husband, the Duke of Brittany, instead of employing native artists, had the monument executed in this country by three English artists, viz., Thomas Colyn, Thomas Holewell, and Thomas Poppehowe. She subsequently obtained for them a letter of safe

* Rymer's *Fœd.*, vol. vii. pp. 795 and 797.

conduct from the king, and sent them with the monument into Brittany, to erect it on its destined site.*

* Rymer's Fœd., vol. viii. 510.



Memorial Slab of Roger Cheyne, Esq.,
A.D. 1414,
Cassington Church, Oxford.



Inlaid Brass Monument of Eleanor
Bohun, wife to Thomas of Woodstock,
Duke of Gloucester.—Died 1399.

Incised Stone Slabs and Brasses, c. 1200-1770.

The lids of stone coffins, being ridged and sculptured in relief, were doubtless found inconvenient for the pavement of churches. This inconvenience probably originated the use of incised stone slabs, which afforded equal facilities for memorial and ornamental devices with coffin-lids; and having an even surface and parallel sides, were well adapted to form part of the pavement. They came into use about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and soon after their introduction were considerably improved by the devices being engraved on metal plates sunk in the slab, instead of being figured on the stone itself.

These memorial slabs exhibit great variety in the character and number of their devices. Some are remarkably plain and simple—a cross, a heart, a chalice, or some military or civil emblem, constituting the sole memorial upon them. Others are elaborately executed and profusely ornamented. The effigy of the deceased is sometimes represented under an elegant canopy, accompanied with the figures of angels, emblematic devices, armorial shields, scrolls, labels, and various minor decorations, all tastefully arranged and delicately executed. Some of these brasses, as they are technically called, measure nearly ten feet by five, and are entirely covered with rich decorations. The legend or inscription generally forms a neat and appropriate border around the verge, but occasionally it is arranged in straight lines near the lower extremity of the slab.

A few of the brasses in this country were the production of foreign artists. They differ from those executed

by native artists, inasmuch as they consist but of one plate, or of several so joined as to have the appearance of but one; while those of English workmanship, which are more boldly though perhaps less delicately executed, are composed of separate plates for the effigy and its various accompaniments.

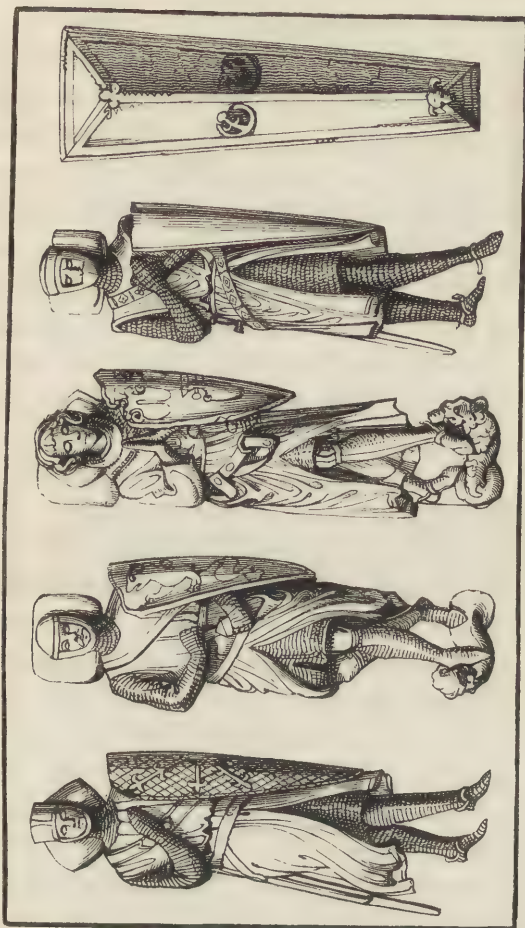
The earliest brass on record is that of Simon de Beauchamp, who died A.D. 1208. It was in St. Paul's Church, Bedford, and is mentioned in Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. i. p. 112.

The number of brasses in England is far greater than in any other country, being probably not less than four thousand, and vestiges remain of as many more now destroyed.* These memorial slabs, whether inlaid with metal plates or not, are seldom found above stone coffins. Occasionally they lie over a brick grave, but generally over graves made in the natural earth. One slab, sometimes with but one device upon it, often commemorates two or more persons.

Cross-legged Effigies, c. 1100—1350.

Many ancient effigies are found with one leg crossing the other, generally the left drawn over the right. This peculiar posture is acknowledged by all antiquaries to be symbolical, but the uncertainty of its meaning has given rise to much learned discussion and ingenious conjecture; and notwithstanding the flood of light recently thrown on all branches of archæology, the subject still appears involved in obscurity. For a long time the attitude was supposed to denote the effigy of a

* Oxford Manual. Introduction, xii.



Effigies from the Temple Church.

Knight-Templar; but this theory was demolished by the cross-legged effigy being often found to commemorate a married man, whereas the Knight-Templar was vowed to celibacy. It was next assigned to the ordinary Crusader, but the same kind of effigy was found to commemorate persons known never to have joined the Crusade. It was now evident that the emblem

was still more comprehensive; so it was next conjectured that it might represent warriors pledged to serve in the Holy Land, but who died before they were able to fulfil their engagement. This theory has shared the same fate with its predecessors by the recent discovery of some cross-legged ladies. Three female effigies of gigantic stature, two measuring six feet six inches, and the other seven feet, have been found built up in the churchyard wall of Cashel in Ireland. They are supposed to be of English manufacture; and an interesting account of them is given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 122-129.

The meaning of this cross-legged attitude still remains most provokingly mysterious, and may safely be offered as the antiquary's prize enigma. I am, however, persuaded that it has some reference to the Crusades. It appears only during the period of these expeditions, and for about fifty years afterwards—a time during which many connected with the Crusades would doubtless survive them. Perhaps it may have been assigned according to some such regulations as these:—1. To those who had actually served in the Crusades. 2. To those who had vowed to serve, but who died before the accomplishment of their design. 3. To those who served by deputy, in the same way as a lady or an ecclesiastic was allowed to serve in the country's warfare by substitute. 4. To those who greatly assisted the expeditions by liberal contributions. 5. Lastly, to children born while their fathers were engaged in the Crusade—if, indeed, those small cross-legged effigies which are often met with really represent children.*

* See Grose's *Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 145-147.

Diminutive Effigies.

Some of the diminutive monuments frequently met with are scarcely less embarrassing to antiquaries than the cross-legged effigy. These are small figures, generally about the size of young children, but possessing certain characteristics peculiar to manhood. I will notice a few instances.

In a niche in the upper part of the south wall of the Church of Mapouder, in Dorset, is a small recumbent effigy in stone, scarcely two feet long, yet it is clad in mail armour, cross-legged, and with sword and shield, and a lion at its feet. In the hands, raised over the body, is a heart.*

A similar cross-legged effigy, of small proportion, is mentioned as existing at Little Easton Church, Essex.† At Dartington, Devon, is the effigy of an ecclesiastic only two feet eight inches long.‡ Another in Tenbury Church, Worcestershire, is thus described in Nash's Collections:—"Under an arch in the north wall of the chancel is the figure of a child in complete armour and a surcoat; between his hands, which are raised on his breast, a large heart; his legs crossed, and at his feet a talbot."§

Under an early English trefoil-headed recess in the Church of Horsted Keynes, Sussex, lies an effigy sculptured in sandstone, which, with the lion at his feet, is only two feet ten inches long. It is cross-legged, clad

* Hutchin's Dorset, vol. iii. p. 278.

† Ib.

‡ Ib.

§ Collections for a History of Worcestershire, vol. ii. p. 420. In the Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 239, Tenbury is erroneously said to be in Gloucestershire.

in armour, and with a sword, but no shield.* The effigy in Salisbury Cathedral, called the Boy-bishop, is about three feet and a half long, is attired in episcopal robes, and holds a crosier in his left hand.

These diminutive effigies were formerly supposed to commemorate children, who, for some unknown reason, were thus represented. The cross-legged figures were supposed to have been connected with the Crusades; and the effigy of the "Boy-bishop" was accounted for by supposing it commemorated a boy who had died while engaged in a profane juvenile sport of the middle ages, equally demoralizing to the urchins who joined in it, and disgraceful to their elders who encouraged it. A more extensive knowledge of archæology has shown that these diminutive effigies were probably never intended to represent children, but owe their small dimensions to some other cause—such as, to economy, or to the want of space, or to the circumstance of the person commemorated being elsewhere interred, or having only a portion of his body near the monument.

Thus, where the small effigy holds a heart, that member of the body alone is thought to be there entombed. This theory, which was first advanced many years ago, has lately been ably discussed, and all but proved by a writer in the *Archæological Journal*.*

Diminutive effigies in every variety of costume are exceedingly numerous on brasses, and have never, on account of size, been considered the memorials of children.

* Vol. iii. p. 234-239. See also Hutchin's *Dorset*, vol. iii.

Monuments of Children, c. 1300—*continued.*

Early memorials of children exist, both incised on slabs and sculptured in stone and marble. Coffin-lids measuring from two to three feet in length are occasionally met with. As these coffins were designed to contain the remains of the deceased, they could only, from their dimensions, have been intended for children. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century examples are frequently met with. An interesting one exists in the Chantry Chapel of Elford Church, in Staffordshire. This is a boy of the Stanley family, said to have been killed by a tennis-ball. The effigy is habited in a loose tunic reaching to the ankles, with a tight sleeve down to the wrist, and a loose half-sleeve above it; his shoes, strapped and buttoned over the instep, resemble those of a child in the present day. In one hand he holds a tennis-ball. His head rests upon a cushion, and his feet upon a young talbot whelp. The monument is sculptured in freestone, and measures, the cushion and dog inclusive, four feet two inches; the length of the effigy being three feet nine inches. It formerly stood in a recess on the north side of the church.



Early Brass
(inlaid in stone).

Effigies of children are more commonly found on the monuments of their parents. A child dying within a month from its birth is generally represented on its monument as shrouded in its chrisom, a white vesture put on it by the priest at baptism, just before he anointed it with chrisom, or consecrated oil.* An ex-

* Wheatley, pp. 367 and 526; and Edward VI.'s Liturgies, pp. 112, 113, Parker Society's edition.

ample on brass exists in the Church of Chesham Bois, and another in alabaster in that of Stoke Mandeville, Bucks.

Emblematic Monuments and Devices.

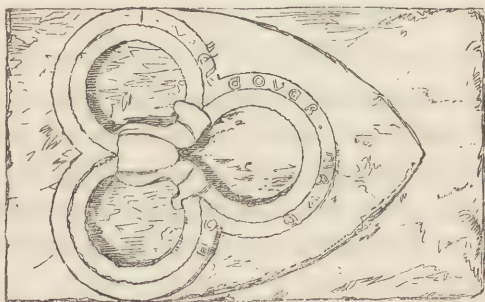
At an early period an emblem or device, either with or without an inscription, sometimes formed the only sepulchral monument of the deceased. The most ancient memorials of this description were crosses of various forms, and used alike on the tombs of laics and ecclesiastics. Beautiful floriated crosses abounded in the fourteenth century, often having the head or bust of the deceased portrayed over them, or at the intersection of the arms. Crosiers, chalices, and other ecclesiastical insignia denote the monuments of Bishops, Abbots, and Priests. If a Bishop or an Abbot was lord of the manor, the figure of a sword was added to the crosier.

The various offices, professions, and trades of the laity were in like manner appropriately described by emblematic memorials. It has lately been advanced with apparent success that a pair of shears, which had previously been considered emblematic of a clothier's tomb, is in reality the symbol of a lady's.*

A lion at the feet of a gentleman denoted courage and generosity; a dog at a lady's feet indicated fidelity and attachment; a dragon pressed by the feet or the pastoral staff of an ecclesiastic denoted antagonism against the evil spirit. A shield of arms, a heart, or a monogram, sometimes constituted the entire memorial. Skeletons and emaciated figures, em-

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. v. pp. 254-257.

blematic of the decaying nature of man, frequently occur on monuments. To symbolize the transient nature of earthly advantages two effigies of the deceased were portrayed, one exhibiting him in full strength and vigour, dressed in his richest apparel and accompanied with the insignia of his rank and office; the other representing him shrouded in his coffin, or emaciated to a skeleton. Archbishop Chicheley, founder of All Souls' College, Oxford, who died in 1443, is thus represented on his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. The founder of a church is often represented holding a model of the edifice in his hands. But these early monumental emblems are too numerous and varied to be even glanced at here. They constitute an important branch of monumental study, and deserve diligent investigation. The Evangelistic emblems so frequently occur, that we should remember they are, for St. Matthew, an angel; St. Mark, a winged lion; St. Luke, a winged ox; St. John, an eagle—each generally holding an uninscribed scroll.



Chichester. Carving on the Floor of the Presbytery. The inscription is, "Ici gist le couer Maud de."



King John's Tomb, Worcester.

Cenotaphs, c. 1100—*continued.*

Although sepulchral monuments, when first introduced into churches, either enclosed or rested on the remains of the persons they commemorated, yet it became no uncommon practice at an early period to erect cenotaphs. We must not therefore always conclude that a person lies buried near his monument, or that he died at the period of its erection.

A monument was sometimes erected in a church in honour of its founder, its principal benefactors, or of

other distinguished persons connected with it, though their bodies were elsewhere interred.

There are three effigies in as many churches to commemorate Queen Eleanor, the wife of Edward I.: one in Lincoln Cathedral, where part of her remains were entombed; another in Westminster Abbey; and the other in Blackfriars' Church, London. King John was buried in the Lady Chapel of Worcester Cathedral, and a stone slab with his effigy in relief laid over his grave.* Many years afterwards a handsome altar-tomb was raised to his memory in the middle of the choir. But by far the greater portion of ancient cenotaphs in our churches, if they can be so designated, originated in the destruction of conventual houses. The effigies, or other portions of the monuments of persons interred therein, were often rescued by the family of the deceased or by other persons, and borne to some neighbouring church, where they were deposited in recesses, or other convenient receptacles often made for the purpose. Consequently, they are often found resting on a part of the wall, with no grave or tomb near, and belonging to a different period of architecture from that of the church and the recess containing them. This accounts for the fact of so many effigies, evidently belonging to a period when inscriptions were generally used, being now found without any. They have been separated from tombs, which, with their inscriptions, have long since shared the fate of the churches or chapels that once protected them.

* See page 30.

Memorial Windows, c. 1400-1550.

About the commencement of the fifteenth century coloured-glass windows, long previously used in churches, began to be applied to monumental purposes. As to material, this was entirely a new mode of commemorating the departed, but it afforded the happiest facilities, not only for the rich exhibition of the various devices already in use, but also for depicting, beautifully and distinctly in natural colours, historic and other scenes which could not be shown, except imperfectly and obscurely, if at all, on any previous description of sepulchral monument. In some instances small and simple devices, resembling those on the plainer kind of monumental slabs, were introduced into windows as the sole memorial. Sometimes the portraiture of the deceased, or a representation of his patron saint, or his heraldic shield, with a legend stating the time of his death, constituted the desired memorial.

In other instances these windows were of a most costly and magnificent description. The whole window was richly emblazoned in various colours, illustrating some appropriate Scripture event, accompanied with scrolls, labels, and the usual monumental emblems and embellishments.

But few of these memorial windows are left us: they suffered more than any other kind of monument at the Rebellion. They were easily destroyed, and were specially offensive as containing "*pyctures supersticious*."

A few, however, still exist, and portions of many more, so as to convey to us a vivid idea of what they were in their perfect state.

The east window of the chancel of Fladbury Church, Worcestershire, contains the armorial bearings of De Montford, Le Despencer, and other distinguished individuals of their party, to commemorate their being slain at the battle of Evesham.*

In Elmley Church, Worcestershire, is a window commemorative of several of the early rectors of the parish. It exhibits their portraitures, kneeling, with labels and legends.†

In Great Malvern Church were twelve memorial windows. One of them, containing the effigies of two knights, in an imperfect inscription intimates that they were munificent benefactors to the church.‡

In Weever's time there were several memorial windows in the Church of Great Chart, Kent. He describes a window in the north chapel of that church, containing sixteen kneeling effigies of men, of whom he says, "Now as it goes by tradition from the father to the sonne, these were the builders of this church."

In the east window of the same church was the following inscription: "Memoriale venerendi patris Domini Jacobi Goldwell Episcopi Norwicen." In the window of another chapel attached to this church is his portraiture in kneeling attitude, with an inscription stating that he founded this chapel in the year 1477.§

Lysons describes a chapel in Luton Church, built by Sir John, afterwards Baron, Wenlock, in the east window of which was his portrait and the following inscription:—

* Nash's Collections, vol. i. p. 449.

† Ib. vol. ii. p. 129.

‡ Ib. p. 386.

§ Weever, p. 296.

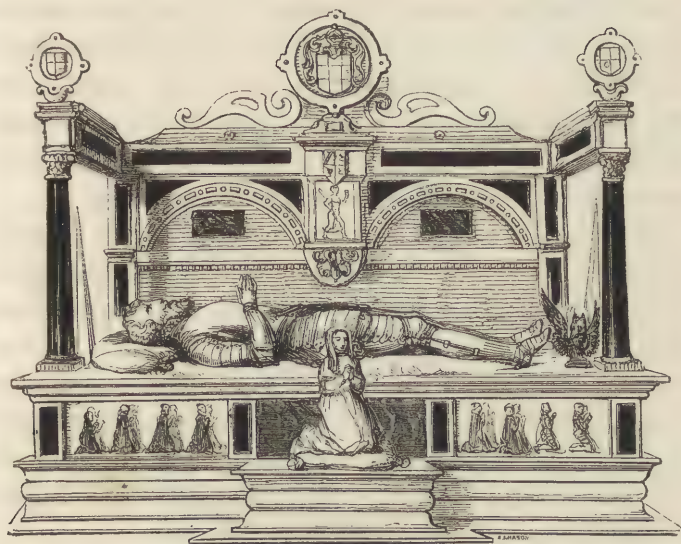
“Iesu Christ most of myght
Have mercy on John Le Wenlock, Knyght,
And on his wife Elizabeth,
Who out of this world is past by death,
Which founded this chapel here.
Help them with your hearty prayer,
That they may come to that place
Where ever is joy and solace.”

He died fighting at the battle of Tewkesbury, May 4,
1471.*

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 264.



The Slab over King John's Grave.



Monument of Sir Thomas Lucy the younger, in Charlecote Church, near Stratford.

Mural Monuments, c. 1550—*continued.*

The sixteenth century introduced a new style called Mural monuments, from their being either recessed into the wall, or reared against and firmly bracketed to it. The larger monuments of this description consist of a kind of altar-tomb, surmounted by a low, heavy canopy, with a horizontal or arched pediment resting on Grecian pillars or pilasters. They have often the appearance of an old fashioned fire-place, with its heavy, cumbrous chimney-piece. Some of the earlier monuments of this kind have recumbent effigies, but generally they are placed in kneeling attitude, and almost always so towards the close of the century.

An open book on a lecturn generally stands before the effigy ; and when man and wife are commemorated

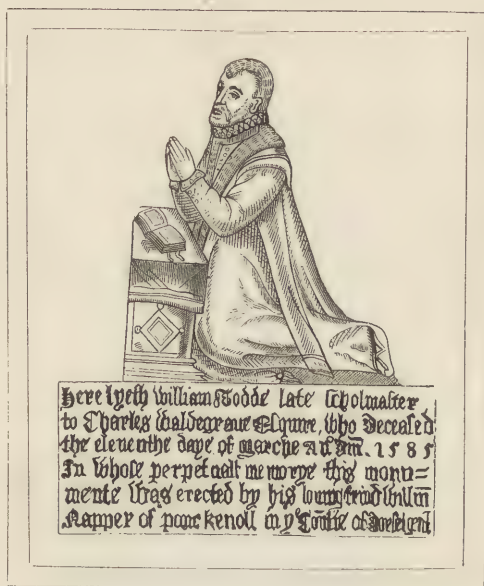
they face each other, the husband on the right and the lady on the left, with a double lecturn between them. Their children are figured either behind them, or on the side of the tomb below. The effigies were generally represented in their natural colour, and the decorations of the monument were painted and gilt.

Sir Thomas Lucy's monument in Charlecote Church, though with a recumbent effigy and without canopy—rare occurrences in such monuments—sufficiently illustrates the monumental characteristics of the Elizabethan period. His widow, in kneeling attitude, is doubtless placed before the tomb to indicate that she was still living at the time of its erection. Their children, six sons and eight daughters, are figured before and behind her, on the plinth or side of the tomb.

Monuments of this kind are often very large, and seriously interfere with the due celebration of Divine Service.

The small Mural monuments at this period resembled as far as practicable the general characteristics of their more magnificent contemporaries. Coloured busts of the deceased, with enormous ruffs round the neck, and sometimes the head covered with hat and feathers, were placed in heavy niches, or more frequently in deep recesses formed in the wall of the church or chancel, from six to ten feet above the floor, and appearing as though the rest of the body were immured in the wall. They generally front the congregation, and attract the attention by their prim and staring appearance.

Skulls, crossbones, Death with a scythe or darts, and similar emblems of mortality, are the prevailing monumental adornments of this period.



Mural Tablets, 1450—(continued).

Mural tablets were constructed of metal, of wood, or of marble. The earliest in use were those of metal, which were introduced about the middle of the fifteenth century, and closely resembled, in design and execution, their prototypes on pavement slabs. About the middle of the succeeding century, and subsequently, they consisted almost invariably of quadrangular plates enclosed in stone or wooden frames. The figures, drawn in profile, are generally kneeling before an open book on a desk; and the inscription is given below, as in the above cut.

At Bletchly, Buckinghamshire, is a tablet of this description, to commemorate Dr. Sparke, Rector, who

died A.D. 1616. His portraiture is engraved on a copper plate, enclosed in a wooden frame, and affixed to the chancel wall. Another curious mural brass at Tingewick, in the same county, to commemorate Erasmus Williams, Rector, who died A.D. 1606, is thus described by Lysons :—"He is represented in half-length portrait, with uplifted hands in the attitude of prayer, and habited in a gown. On each side of him is a pillar, on which hang astronomical, musical, and geometrical instruments, painting utensils, various books, &c. On the top of one of the pillars is a globe, on the other an owl. There are various other devices, as a sun and rainbow, &c., and several texts of Scripture. Underneath is a long inscription," of which the first four lines run thus :—

"This doth Erasmus Williams represent,
Who living all did love, dead all lament ;
His humane arts behind his back attend,
Whereon spare hours he wisely chose to spend."

Wooden tablets were in use about the close of the fifteenth century. The devices were generally heraldic, which, with the inscriptions, were painted upon them.

There was one in the chancel of Barmston Church, Yorkshire, to commemorate Sir Francis Boynton, knight, who died A.D. 1617. It contained the armorial bearings of Boynton, Aton, Rossel, De la See, Monceaux, and Kelk ; and under these a long elegy in Latin verse, by Isaac Gilpin, on the virtues and lamented death of Sir Francis Boynton, who, by the tone and expressions of the elegy, might be considered as having died a pagan.*

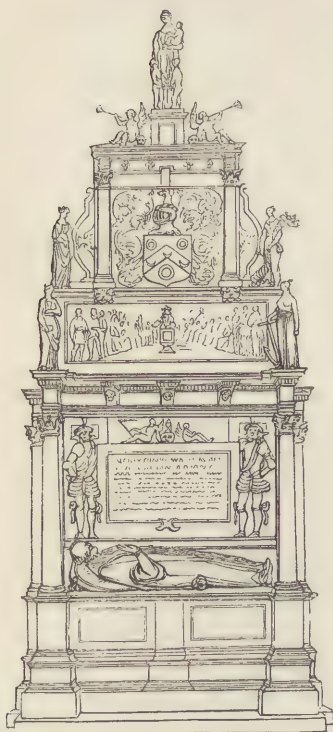
* Poulson's Holderness, vol. i. p. 209.

Wooden tablets probably never were numerous, and being of such frail materials, would soon perish or be easily destroyed.

Stone and marble tablets, which probably came into use about the same time as wooden ones, and still continue in vogue, are too common and well known to need the slightest description. Their style of construction, and the character of their devices, of course have varied according to the prevailing taste at the time of their erection.



Gower's Monument.



Sutton's Monument.



Donne's Monument.

Classic Monuments.

A classic taste, as it was called, having been for many generations the fashionable bias, became in the eighteenth century a perfect mania, and displayed itself in every possible manner. The "Gothic" style of English architecture was now totally supplanted by that of *classic* character. The country-seats of gentlemen, built in *classic* fashion, were duly embellished within and without with representations of heathen deities and idolatrous

scenes of *classic* celebrity. The adjoining shrubbery generally afforded a characteristic grove, containing a *classic* temple dedicated to Venus, or some other deity of scarcely higher reputation ; while immodest statues of these *classic* gods and goddesses met you in the adjacent walks at every turn.

Had this classic mania stopped here, I should not have alluded to it. But it proceeded to the House of God. The temple of the "great goddess Diana" became a model for new churches, and the sepulchral monuments of Pagans, excluded even from their own temples, were copied for Christian memorials within the courts of the Lord's House. Some of these monuments blend together in the same composition almost every style of ancient architecture, except that of our venerable churches, which alone was too "Gothic" to be admitted. Reared against the wall, or standing detached, they present a huge, incongruous pile, and half fill the aisle or chancel of the church in which they are erected. But their size and construction, objectionable as these are, do not constitute their worst feature. This consists in the adoption of Pagan emblems, which at this period appear alike on monuments of every size. Roman urns, funeral flames, Egyptian pyramids, broken pillars, naked cupids with trumpets or inverted torches, and various other emblematic allusions to heathen rites and customs, were deemed appropriate ornaments for Christian memorials. The very deities of ancient idolaters were summoned into the Lord's House to give these monuments a more classic character. "Amends seems to have been made," says Grose, "to the heathen gods for turning them out of the Pantheon, by admitting them

into our churches." And Mr. Barry, the eminent architect, lately remarked, that if all such inappropriate monuments were to be removed from our churches, "more than two hundred would require expulsion from Westminster Abbey, and the entire collection, with two exceptions, from St. Paul's Cathedral." Indeed all our cathedral and most of our parish churches have been thus disfigured (I might say profaned) by this unfortunate classic, or rather Pagan taste.

At this era memorial after memorial occurs without the slightest recognition, either in the epitaph or devices, of the Christian faith; while but few, either of the most costly monuments or the humblest tablets, are to be found without some allusion to Paganism. In two churches, sixty miles apart, and in different counties, I lately noticed the following epitaph:—

"Had Juno, Venus, and Minerva praise?
Such thou wert once, yet who thy fame will raise?
Shall wit and beauty meet superior foes?
And must this urn thy sundry gifts enclose?
Low lies thy dust; thy soul, lo! heavenward flies,
And claims her seat above the starry skies."

This epitaph, which, but for its barbarous poetry, might have been written by Horace, was in each instance on a large marble tablet, embellished with various Pagan devices, and surmounted by a huge urn, with a flame issuing from it. One of these tablets, dated A.D. 1803, was raised to a lady by eleven of her children, and placed in a most conspicuous part of the church. Surely such memorials would convey the idea that they were erected by Pagans, who desired to inculcate idolatry, or to mock revealed religion.

The stranger in passing through the ancient catacombs at Rome readily distinguishes a Christian from a Pagan memorial, where there is no inscription, by the cross being figured on the one, and an urn on the other. Take this test into our churches, and how large a proportion of the persons there commemorated would appear to have died in Paganism !

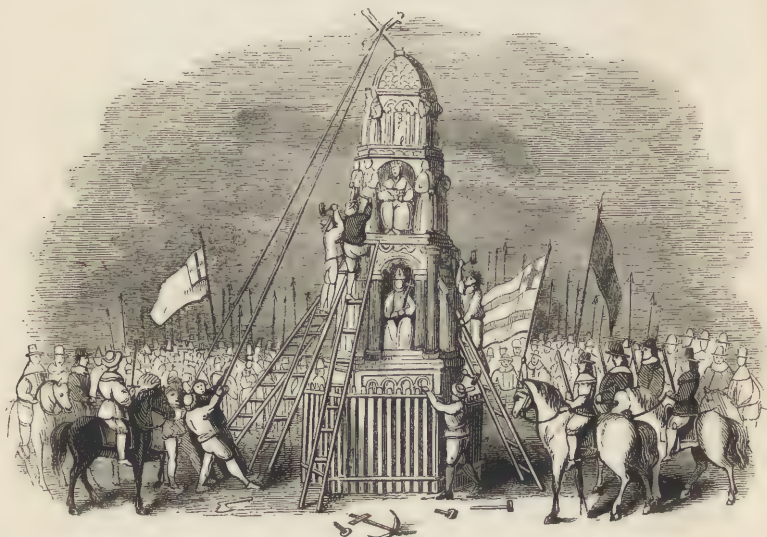
“ The Cross, the Christian’s earliest badge,
The banner of his fight of faith,
The emblem that adorns his tomb,
To mark his confidence in death.”

Why have we abandoned the sign of the cross on our sepulchral monuments? It is not the symbol of Popery, but of Christianity. The urn, as alluding to the burning of the dead, is the symbol of Paganism, and of nothing else. Ignorance of the meaning is the only imaginable excuse for displaying this, or any other Pagan emblem, on a Christian monument.

After passing this general censure on the sepulchral memorials of the last and present century, it is gratifying to be able to qualify it in some measure by readily admitting that there are honourable exceptions.

There are some that deserve more of admiration than censure, and many that, as specimens of statuary, surpass all that have preceded them. Chantrey’s well-known monument of “The Sleeping Children” in Lichfield Cathedral merits, both for design and execution, the celebrity it has obtained. It is a lovely monument, representing two children locked in each other’s arms, as in peaceful slumber. A happy conception, which, so unlike the hideous figures of skulls and cross-bones, sweetly harmonizes with the Christian’s belief and con-

solation, that death, even to the body, is but a calm sleep till the general awakening at the resurrection morn.



Puritans destroying the Cross in Cheapside.
(From a contemporary print in the Pennant Collection, Brit. Mus.)

The Destruction of Monuments.

Having concluded this brief account of existing monuments, some notice must be taken of the vast number destroyed. Many have perished by the natural effects of time; more have been purposely destroyed. Weever, who lived when the facts were fresh in the memory of living witnesses, gives the following account of the destruction amongst the monuments at the time of the Reformation:—"Towards the latter end of the raigne of Henry the Eight, and throughout the whole

raigne of Edward the Sixth, and in the beginning of Queene Elizabeth, certaine persons of every county were put in authority to pull downe, and cast out of all Churches, Roodes, graven Images, Shrines with their Reliques, to which the ignorant people came flocking in adoration. Or any thing else, which (punctually) tended to idolatrie and superstition. Under colour of this their Commission, and in their too forward zeale, they rooted up and battered downe Crosses in Churches and Churchyards; . . . they defaced and brake downe the images of Kings, Princes, and noble estates; erected, set up, or pourtraied, for the onely memory of them to posterity, and not for any religious honour. Marbles which covered the dead were digged up, and put to other uses. Tombes hackt and hewne apeeces; Images or representations of the defunct, broken, erazed, cut, or dismembered; Inscriptions or Epitaphs, for greedinesse of the brasse, or for that they were thought to bee anti-christian, pulled out from the Sepulchres, and purloined; dead carcasses, for gaine of their stone or leaden coffins, cast out of their graves, notwithstanding this request cut or engraven upon them, *Propter misericordiam Jesu requiescant in pace.*"*

This destruction of sepulchral monuments, which was neither in accordance with the principles of the Reformation, nor sanctioned by its leading promoters, was effectually arrested in the second year of Elizabeth's reign by a Proclamation commanding the severe punishment of such offences.† During the puritanical

* Weever's Funeral Monuments, pp. 50, 51.

† Heylyn's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 339. Weever gives a transcript of the proclamation, p. 52.

ascendancy at the Rebellion the havoc among supulchral monuments was more extensive, and sanctioned, or at least unrestrained, by the authorities of the time. The parliamentary soldiers, encouraged, and sometimes commanded by their leaders, entered the cathedral and parish churches, and barbarously demolished or defaced all such monuments as offended their fanatical taste and revolutionary principles. A contemporary writer says:—"In every place they made it their first business to rob and deface churches, and violate the sepulchres and monuments of the dead." The Parliament, moreover, appointed Commissioners to "reform" the churches, and that this office was no sinecure may be gathered from the notes of one of them, William Dowsing, who kept a journal of his proceedings. A few extracts from this curious document, now printed, and to be seen in the British Museum, may be interesting here. Referring to the Church of Toffe, or Tofte, he says:—

"Will. Disborogh, Church Warden, Richard Basby, and John Newman, Constable, 27 superstitious pictures in glass, and ten other in stone, three brass inscriptions, Pray for y^e soules, and a cross to be taken of the steeple (6s. 8d.), and there was divers Orate pro animabus in y^e windowes."

At Cambridge.—"Trinity parish, Mr. Frog, churchwarden, December 25, we brake down 80 Popish pictures."

"At Clare, we brake 1000 pyctures superstitious."

"Cochie, there were divers pictures in the windows which we could not reach, neither would they help us to raise the ladders."

"1643, Jan. 1.—Edwards Parish, we digged up

the steps, and brake down 40 pictures, and took off ten superstitious inscriptions." *

Such was the zeal with which one of these church reformers discharged his office:—*ab uno disce omnes*.

When we consider the efforts made at the Reformation to remove the remnants of Popish superstition from our churches, the most charitable person will be convinced that the havoc made in them at the rebellion must have been exceedingly wanton and disgraceful.

“ The civil fury of the time
Made sport of sacrilegious crime ;
For dark Fanaticism rent
Altar, and screen, and ornament,
And peasant hands the tombs o’erthrew.”

Great as was the destruction of sepulchral monuments by these lawless fanatics, it has probably been fully equalled through the negligence and apathy of the appointed guardians of churches, who have suffered them to be injured or destroyed with impunity. Lists of them, which have been taken throughout the kingdom at different times since the rebellion, clearly prove that the ancient monuments have been gradually but extensively diminishing during the last century and a half; while the fragments often found amongst the rubbish in and near the churches, too plainly indicate that the devastation has been continued to a recent date. But all destroyed monuments have not been cast aside amongst the useless rubbish. They have been most ingeniously applied to various purposes, and have been discovered in very unexpected positions.

* Burn’s History of Parish Registers, p. 92.

I lately saw three stone coffins in Yorkshire which had been converted into drinking-troughs for cattle. "It is reported," says Chauncy, "that Sir Leonard Hyde paved his kitchen at Sandon with gravestones taken out of the church of Throcking, and, being patron, embezzled the glebe; and from that time 'twas observed his estate wasted and his name extinguishd." But who would have expected to find courtly knights and dames of the feudal times in such positions as these! A lady, richly attired and holding in her hands a model church, having left the honourable position she once occupied in the window of a church she probably founded, was discovered in the buttery window of a neighbouring mansion. A knight and lady of the Compton family, engraved on brass, disgusted with the cold, damp floor of the church, where their prototypes lay buried, were found to have ensconced themselves at the back of a fireplace in a small cottage. Another knightly effigy in brass, disdaining to continue prostrate on the floor of the church, and having a sad propensity to low company, was detected looking shamefully bright and contented over the kitchen chimneypiece of the adjacent parsonage.*

But memorial brasses have more commonly been torn up and sold to tinkers to diminish the church-rate: with the same laudable spirit of economy the churchyard walls, as at Tottington in Norfolk,† have been covered with the lids of stone coffins; and beautifully sculptured monuments have been used in the walls of

* Oxford Manual, p. 11.

† Burn's Hist. of Parish Registers, p. 93.

churches to save the parish the expense of a few stones. The broken canopy of an altar-tomb was discovered thus built up in the chancel wall at Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks; and, on removing some old wainscoting from the opposite side, three skulls, with other portions of human skeletons, were found in one of the sedilia. It is not alone at Stratford-on-Avon that the warning is needed—

“Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curst be he that moves my bones.”*

We may easily conceive, from the brief notices now adduced, that multitudes of sepulchral monuments have unnecessarily perished, either by intentional destruction or through the negligence of their proper guardians. There is something exceedingly revolting in this recklessness about such memorials. Common respect for the dead ought to have secured them from every unnecessary injury.

If we desire the memorials of our friends and of ourselves hereafter to be respected, let us do as we would be done by, and we shall then need no legal compulsion, no stronger argument, to restrain us from injuring the monuments of others.



Lich-Gate, Beckenham.

* From the covering slab of Shakspeare's grave.



Charlecote Church.

Burial in Churches.

While the tombs already existing in churches should be scrupulously respected, yet the continuance of such interment is by no means commendable. Houses of Prayer ought never to have been converted into BURIAL-PLACES. This improper proceeding—the genuine offspring of Popery—has resulted in the most serious and painful consequences. The soil immediately under the floor of some of our old parish churches is one mass of human dust and corruption. This subject is unpleasing, but necessary to be impartially considered. It must not be shunned from feelings of false delicacy. Living worshippers must not be driven from the House of God

by the offensive presence of the dead. These sacred courts, consecrated to our risen and ascended Lord, should rather aspire to resemble heaven than a sepulchre for perishing mortality.

This objection to burial in churches is no novelty. Many great and good men long ago have condemned it; and by their injunction to be otherwise interred, have left us a noble example. Among these worthies were Archbishops Sancroft and Secker; the Bishops of London in succession, from Dr. Compton to Dr. Hayter; Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, and Sir Matthew Hale, who used to say, "Churches were for the living, and churchyards for the dead." *



The Admission of Monuments into Churches.

The memorials of departed Christians might still be admitted into churches, subject to proper regulations, although burial in future were excluded. The nature of such regulations is obvious from our acquaintance with existing monuments, which afford abundant examples of almost every size, and form, and character. Many of these, as we have seen, are admirably adapted to the purpose, while others are fraught with objections that render them unfit for imitation. A sober, unprejudiced discernment will at once direct us what to adopt and what to repudiate.

First let us notice what should be avoided:—

1. Monuments which, from size or position, may interfere with the due celebration of Divine Service.

* Burn's History of Parish Registers, pp. 88, 89.

2. Monuments differing in form and character from the general principles of ecclesiastical architecture.

3. All emblems, decorations, and inscriptions which necessarily would remind the beholder of Paganism or of Popery.

4. Emblems of mere mortality ; such as skulls, *cross-bones*, and emaciated figures, as being suggestive rather of annihilation than of immortality.

Let us now notice what kinds of memorial are adapted for admission into churches :—

1. Stained-glass windows. This kind of memorial is not only ornamental to the church, but affords the happiest facilities for scriptural illustration and emblematic commemoration. (See p. 28.)

2. Stone slabs forming part of the pavement. The memorial and decorative devices may be either engraved on the slab, or on metal plates sunk into it. (See illustrations and notice of this kind of memorial, pp. 16–18.) The effigy, as in Eleanor Bohun's slab, might be omitted, and the space under the canopy occupied with inscriptions.

3. Altar-tombs and sculptured effigies are well adapted for cathedral and large churches. The monument of Edward the Black Prince, shown on a large scale at page 10, is an admirable model.

4. A font, or other durable requisite, constitutes a suitable memorial in a church. The memorial inscription may be incised in the base or pedestal.

5. Mural tablets should be constructed on the principles of Gothic architecture, and harmonize with the prevailing style of the church. They should, if possible, be recessed into the wall, and resemble the pis-

cina or sedilia, which, in the hands of a skilful architect, afford excellent models, from the simplest to the most elaborate design.

A tablet of this description, very creditably sculptured by Messrs. Thompson, of Aylesbury, was recently erected in Sherrington Church, Bucks. An illustration of it, slightly varied from the original, is given as a frontispiece. It is figured on a large scale, that the design may be readily seen.

Conclusion.

In concluding these brief notices of sepulchral monuments, it is gratifying to observe that the various kinds here advocated have recently been more or less extensively adopted. Several, designed and executed in good style by the late Mr. Rickman, to whom we are indebted for the revival of Gothic architecture, were erected in various churches during the early part of the present century. One of these, a small mural tablet of simple design, was affixed in St. George's Church, Everton, in the year 1815. An altar-tomb in Gothic style, richly decorated, was erected a few years since in York Cathedral, to commemorate Archbishop Markham, who was buried A.D. 1808, in Westminster Abbey. More recently, a similar tomb with a recumbent effigy was erected in Canterbury Cathedral to the memory of Archbishop Howley. Memorial fonts, stained-glass windows, and incised slabs and brasses, are daily becoming more generally adopted. Mural tablets are not unfrequently constructed in correct style, and inscriptions are gradually assuming a more modest and edifying tone.

All these circumstances are exceedingly gratifying. They are cheering signs of advancement towards that truer taste—that more Christian character in sepulchral commemoration, which alone the writer desires to advocate.

Having long and frequently been a pilgrim to the tombs of our forefathers, he has often been intensely pained to find so many of those memorials, which might have afforded profitable lessons of deep and touching interest, rendered almost loathsome by the associations which alone they are calculated to awaken. The Christian's tomb, brightened as it is by the resurrection of his Divine Master, should neither be profaned with pagan allusions nor darkened by the mere recognition of bodily decay.

“No more a charnel-house, to fence
The relics of lost innocence,
A vault of ruin and decay ;—
Th’ imprisoning stone is roll’d away :

’Tis now a fane, where Love can find
Christ everywhere embalm’d and shrin’d ;
Aye gathering up memorials sweet
Where’er she sets her duteous feet.”—*Christian Year*.



G. J. Scott Esq. R.A.

with the writers best compliments

ESSAY XII.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF ENGLAND

CONSIDERED HISTORICALLY,

BY CANON VENABLES,

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Object of the Essay—Definition of a Cathedral church: not structurally different from any other church.

English Cathedrals before the Conquest: Basilican in form and arrangement; the causes of their destruction—The præ-Norman Cathedral of Canterbury: changes introduced by the Normans: Edward the Confessor's Abbey of Westminster: Lanfranc's Cathedral at Canterbury—The majority of English Cathedrals Norman in plan and in structure: their characteristics; the transepts, their chapels and aisles; the chapels of the Choir—Norman Crypts: their purpose—Norman Towers—The development of the Eastern limb of English Cathedrals: its object and history; Canterbury the first instance—The Choir of Lincoln—Lady Chapels: their position—Winchester, Bristol, &c.: the shrines of local saints at the east end—The Presbytery of Ely, &c.—

The Angel Choir of Lincoln, &c.—The disuse of the apse, and substitution of the square east end: possible reasons for the change—The eastern screens and feretories—Shifting of the Ritual Choir eastward—Western screens—Types of Cathedrals free from Norman influence: Salisbury, Wells, Westminster—Modifications of Cathedrals subsequent to the thirteenth century: York, Exeter, Lichfield, Chester, Worcester, Bristol, Old St. Paul's, Ely.

The introduction of the Perpendicular style—Adaptation of Winchester, Gloucester, Canterbury—Minor alterations—Large west windows.

Subsequent vicissitudes of Cathedrals—The Reformation—The Great Rebellion—The last century—"Wyatt the destructive."

Restorations of the present day—Hopeful prospects for Cathedrals—their necessity in the Diocesan System—End.

THE
ARCHITECTURE OF THE CATHEDRAL
CHURCHES OF ENGLAND
CONSIDERED HISTORICALLY.

Πᾶσα ἡ οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη αὖξει εἰς ναὸν ἁγίον ἐν Κυρίῳ.

THIS Essay has for its subject the Architecture of the Cathedral Churches of England considered historically. In other words, it is an attempt to trace the gradual development of these magnificent structures from the simple and unadorned idea of a primitive Christian church, to examine into the intention of the various parts which go to make up the complicated whole, the motives that dictated the successive modifications in their plan and arrangements, and the causes that led to the structural changes which were continually in operation during the five centuries that witnessed their foundation, progress, and completion in their present form. These changes will be found to have an intimate connection with the political and ecclesiastical movements of the centuries in which these buildings were erected, and to reflect the revolutions through which the Church and Nation of England have passed, and the mutations of religious opinion, in a manner which invests them with a new and peculiar interest. I shall have to say something also as to the founders and builders of these magnificent structures, and the sources from which the funds were provided for their original erection, and for that course of alteration, and, in the eyes of its promoters, improvement, that was carried on almost without interruption from the period of their first foundation up to the time of the Reformation : "*nulla dies sine lineâ.*"

The title of this Essay seems to confine our investigations to Cathedral churches; but it must not be thought that these limits have been unduly transgressed if some facts and illustrations are drawn from churches not comprehended under that designation. The truth is that the popular distinction between Cathedral and other churches is based on an erroneous idea of what a Cathedral church really is. It hardly needs to be repeated here that what constitutes any church a Cathedral church is nothing more than its containing the *cathedra* or official seat of the Bishop whose see it is. Thus any church, however small and undignified, may at any time become the *Ecclesia Cathedralis* of a Diocese, simply through the appointment by the proper authority, that the Bishop's seat of office shall be set up there. It was thus that Glastonbury became for a brief period, at the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, the Cathedral church of the Diocese of Bath and Wells,* even as the church of Hackington would have become the Cathedral church of the Diocese of Canterbury if Archbishop Baldwin had carried out the idea, conceived during his dispute with the contumacious monks of Christ Church, of transferring his *cathedra* thither.† By the same easy transition, the Abbey churches selected by Henry VIII. as the sees of his new Bishopricks rose to their new dignity, without the slightest structural change beyond the erection of an episcopal throne. And with equal facility in our own days the Collegiate churches of Ripon and Manchester have become Cathedrals, and we trust that the time may not be far distant when others of our stately Collegiate or Monastic churches that escaped the wreck of the Reformation—St. Alban's, Southwell, St. Mary Overys, &c.—may also become the Cathedrals of their own counties. It follows at once from what I have said that there is not of necessity any structural difference between a Cathedral and any other church. The architectural features that are popularly associated with the idea of a Cathedral‡—

* Freeman, Cathedral Church of Wells, p. 70.

† Hook, Lives of the Archbishops, vol. ii. p. 550.

‡ For convenience' sake the word *Cathedral* will be used in this Essay

in its ordinary acceptation, to avoid the repetition of the correct but somewhat cumbrous *Cathedral Church*. Mr. Freeman has well pointed out (Cathedral Church of Wells, p. 10) that "Cathedral is an adjective and not a sub-

the cruciform plan, the uniform height of all four arms of the cross, the central tower, two flanking towers at the west end, the long nave unoccupied by permanent seats, the ritual choir with its canopied stalls and misereres—are in no sense of the essence of a Cathedral. Some are wanting to our existing Cathedrals,* while all are equally shared by other churches which vie with their more dignified sisters in architectural magnificence, and in some cases actually surpass them.† The same laws of architectural development ruled in all the larger churches, whether Cathedral, Monastic, or Collegiate, erected at the same epoch, and all may be legitimately employed as examples in illustration of our subject.

The materials for investigating the architectural character of the Cathedrals erected in England prior to the Norman invasion are scanty and precarious. With the insignificant exception of a fragment of rude walling in the crypt of York Minster, which may possibly have belonged to the “more august basilica of stone” commenced at the suggestion of Paulinus by King Edwin, A.D. 633, around the original wooden oratory in which he had received baptism, completed by his successor Oswald, and thoroughly repaired by Wilfrid, A.D. 699:‡—the very curious and interesting subterranean oratory beneath Ripon Minster, known as *St. Wilfrid's Needle*, which reproduces in so remarkable a manner the form and arrangements of the catacomb-chapels with which Wilfrid must have become familiar in Rome;§—and the analogous crypt still

stantive, and its use as a substantive is always rather awkward and slovenly.” True; but—

“Hinc semperque licetbit

Signatum presente nota producere nomen.”

* Neither Manchester nor Llandaff have transepts. The former and Ely, and formerly Hereford, have one western tower, standing like that of an ordinary parish church, at the end of the nave. Carlisle and Bristol have for some centuries wanted a nave, a deficiency now happily being supplied in the latter instance, while at Carlisle the small fragment left standing by the Parliamentary troops has been recently thrown open to the transepts.

† We may instance the glorious Minsters of St. Alban's, Beverley, South-

well, St. Mary Overys, Christchurch Twynham, Romsey, Selby, Milton (Dorset), and St. Mary Redcliffe among churches still standing; and Glastonbury, Fountains, Rievaulx, Whitby, Malmesbury, Bury St. Edmund's, Burlington, Howden, Lindisfarne, Tintern, Netley, Furness, among those wholly or partially in ruins. Westminster Abbey, once for a brief space an actual Cathedral, refuses to be ranked in any class, and towers above all English churches in dignity as in elevation.

‡ Willis's Architectural History of York Minster, pp. 2, 3, 12-16.

§ See Mr. Walbran's Essay in the York volume of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute.

existing beneath the once Cathedral church of Hexham, founded by Wilfrid, A.D. 673,—every trace of the larger ecclesiastical edifices with which England was covered before the middle of the eleventh century has disappeared. This total destruction of sacred buildings has been sometimes ascribed to their having been chiefly built of wood. No doubt many of them, especially those of earlier date and smaller size, were wooden, and their disappearance may thus be satisfactorily accounted for.* But it would be a complete mistake to suppose that the English, some centuries before the Norman Conquest, had not attained to the art of building in stone, or that they were contented with constructing their Cathedral and Abbey Churches of timber.† Contemporaneous accounts, even allowing for the over-strained language employed by the eulogists of the saintly men who were the founders of these churches, forbid us to question the fact of the erection of stone buildings of considerable size and complication of plan. Reference has already been made to the stone church built by Edwin at York, in obedience to the suggestion of Paulinus, A.D. 633. At the other Metropolitan See, Canterbury, a stone church had been erected or rebuilt at a still earlier period by Augustine, of which more anon. At Lincoln, also, as Bede records, a stone church of beautiful workmanship was built by Paulinus, the walls of which remained at the time of his writing, though by some mischance it had lost its roof. These earlier churches naturally imitated the Basilican form and arrangement, as seen in the magnificent churches of Rome, then in their first glory and beauty. The accounts given by contemporary historians of the churches raised by Wilfrid at Hexham, and at Ripon, enable us to discern that they were constructed of hewn stone, and possessed arcades supported on columns, and upper galleries probably corresponding to those still found in the

* "Igitur profunditatem ipsius ecclesiæ criptis et oratoris subterraneis, et viarum anfractibus, inferius cum magna industria fundavit." Ricard. Hagastald. apud Twysden, 290. See the late Mr. Hudson Turner's plan and description, *Journal of Archæol. Inst.*, vol. ii. pp. 239-242.

† It is interesting to remark that the wooden chapel erected at Greensted, near Ongar, Essex, A.D. 1013, as the

temporary shelter of the relics of St. Edmund, when removed from Bury during an incursion of the Danes, still exists; and after the lapse of eight centuries serves as the parish church. "It consists," writes Mr. Scott (*Lectures at Royal Academy*, 1868,) "of cleft oak-trees grooved and tongued together by their edges, and let into grooves in horizontal cells and heads."

basilicas of St. Agnes and St. Lawrence at Rome, and conformed generally to the type of a Roman Basilica. The description given of Ramsey Abbey in the time of Dunstan, though not very easy to unravel, seems to indicate a church with aisles, transepts, a central and a western tower. The Cathedral of Winchester was raised from its foundations by Bp. Ethelwold, A.D. 963-984. Of this we have a very pompous and inflated account in Wulstan's poetical epistle to Bp. Elphege; from which, setting aside the exaggerated praise natural in describing a work probably greatly in advance of any that had gone before it, it appears that the early Basilican arrangement was still followed. There was a court of entrance or western cloister, with chapels disposed about it, reminding us of the descriptions given by St. Paulinus of Nola of the churches erected by him at that place.* The Church of Winchester had north and south aisles, and an eastern apse, the altar end of the church being raised, as at St. Peter's and the other primitive basilicas, on a *confessio* or crypt, serving as a place of sepulture for the more sacred dead. The number of "chapels with sacred altars" was such as to distract the visitor, who knew not which way to turn. Elphege, the successor of Bp. Ethelwold, added a tower of five stories with open windows, the description of which recalls the many-storied towers attached to the earlier churches in Rome.† These contemporary notices of præ-Norman churches might be considerably augmented; but what has been produced will be sufficient to prove that the sacred edifices erected during this period were far from being mean and insignificant constructions: and on the contrary that many of them were of very considerable dimensions, and, if judged by an early standard, of some considerable degree of splendour, though their almost universal destruction by the Norman Bishops and Abbots affords sufficient evidence that they fell short of their more advanced views of size and magnificence. Of the evident contrast between the Saxon and Norman architectural works, and of the marked inferiority of the former, we have decisive testimony, in the words of Bishop Wulstan of Worcester, given

* S. Paulin. Nolan., Epist. 32. |
 Poem. 28 (Natal x.).

† Willis (Arch. Hist. of Canterbury,

p. 30) notices the correspondence between the Saxon towers and the Roman "campanili."

in an oft-quoted passage of William of Malmesbury.* On the completion of the Cathedral which Wulstan had erected at Worcester by the side of the Saxon church built by his holy predecessor Oswald, c. A.D. 980, the workmen began to demolish the earlier building. But Wulstan, standing by and looking on, could not restrain his tears, saying, "We wretched people destroy the works of the saints that we may get praise for ourselves. That age of happy men knew not how to construct pompous edifices, but they knew well how under such roofs as they had to sacrifice themselves to God, and to set a good example. We, contrariwise, strive that we may pile up stones, neglecting the while the cure of souls."

Reference has already been made to the architectural ambition of the Norman prelates, as one principal reason for the annihilation of the Cathedrals and Monastic Churches of Saxon times. And there is no doubt that it is to the wondrous vigour and indomitable energy of the Norman character that we owe the substitution, in every part of our island, of edifices in the majestic style introduced by the conquerors, for the smaller, ruder, and less lofty churches of the Saxons. But there was another and equally powerful cause, which had been in operation for a couple of centuries before the Norman Conquest, which will help to explain the disappearance of the earlier ecclesiastical buildings. This is not the place to enter upon the devastations committed by Danes and other Northern piratical hordes during their repeated invasions and lengthened occupations of the soil of England, in which many of its chief religious establishments were pillaged and burnt, in some instances lying desolate for a considerable period. The conflagration of the great Abbeys of Crowland, Peterborough, and Ely by the Danes under Hubba, c. A.D. 870, and of the Cathedral of Canterbury A.D. 1011, when the city was sacked and the Archbishop Elphege led away a prisoner, and at last brutally massacred,† may be taken as typical instances of the fate which befell all the sacred buildings, especially those enriched with treasures of a kind to tempt their cupidity, that were reached by the deso-

* De Gest. Pontiff., lib. iv. p. 283; Willis, Arch. Hist. of Winchester, p. 34.

† Canterbury Cathedral was not so

hopelessly ruined by the fire as to forbid its restoration; so that the original fabric seems to have lasted, in the main, down to the days of Lanfranc.

lating tide of heathen invasion. The stern retribution with which the Conqueror visited the unwillingness of the northern counties of England to accept his yoke, sweeping the whole district between the Humber and the Tyne with fire and sword, may be mentioned as another element of destruction of the præ-Norman ecclesiastical buildings. The vengeance of the Conqueror spared nothing sacred or secular in the guilty district. Churches were sacked, and were consumed in the conflagration of the towns in which they stood. York Minster had been previously burnt by the Norman garrison; and was found a roofless ruin with blackened walls when Thomas, the first Norman Archbishop, was appointed to the See, A.D. 1070.* The consequence of the operation of these various destructive elements is that no Cathedral or large Monastic church belonging to the period before the Conquest remains in England, and that we have to content ourselves with such testimony as to their style, plan, and arrangement as may be drawn from contemporary documents, or gathered by analogy from the humbler sacred buildings scattered here and there, which are assigned by architectural critics to this epoch.

The Cathedral Church of Canterbury is one of those of which we have the fullest description, elucidated and rendered intelligible to us by the critical skill of Professor Willis.† Before passing on to the wider and more attractive field presenting itself after the Norman Conquest, it will not be out of place to speak of this as a typical example of a Saxon church. It has already been remarked that the features of the Saxon ecclesiastical edifices seem to have been borrowed from the Roman Basilicas. This resemblance is very evident in the contemporary notice of Wilfrid's Cathedral at Hexham; and Edmer, who, from having been Anselm's companion in his visit to Rome, must have known what he was talking about, distinctly states, with respect to the original Cathedral of Canterbury, that it was to some extent arranged in imitation of the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome. The ground-plan, as given by Professor Willis from Edmer's description, at once recalls those of the early Roman Basilicas. It is a plain parallelogram, flanked by

* Freeman, Norman Conquest, vol. iv. pp. 267, 373.

† Architectural History of Canterbury, ch. ii. pp. 25-31.

aisles extending from end to end, the cruciform shape being not structurally defined, but merely marked out, as at St. Clement's and elsewhere, by steps and low partitions, the *chorus cantorum* being extended into the nave, and probably enclosed by a wall breast high. Each extremity, as in some of the German Cathedrals,* was terminated by an apse containing an altar or altars standing on a raised platform ascended by steps. The apse to the west contained the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, standing in the centre of the chord, with the episcopal seat in the central point of the curve behind it. The officiating priest at this altar celebrated, as Edmer tells us, in the primitive fashion, standing on the further side, with his face turned to the people.† The platform of the eastern apse, containing two altars, was raised upon a crypt, called by Edmer by the Roman name of a *Confessionary*, in which was an altar containing relics of great preciousness. The church was flanked by two projecting towers, dedicated respectively to St. Gregory and St. Martin. The former, to the south, afforded the principal entrance to the church, at which legal decisions were given in certain special cases drawn from all parts of the kingdom. St. Martin's Tower, to the north, gave access to the cloisters, and was used for the instruction of the novices. The Baptistery, or church of St. John the Baptist, added by Archbishop Cuthbert in the eighth century, was a detached building standing to the east, nearly touching the church.

It will hardly be thought that too much space has been devoted to the description of this church, when it is considered that it is the only account of a præ-Norman church of sufficient clearness to enable us to understand its form and arrangements, and that it was the church which then, as now, took the first rank among the ecclesiastical structures of England as the seat of its Primate; "*alterius orbis Papa.*"

No contrast could well be greater than that presented by the

* The Abbey Church of St. Gall had a western apse dedicated to St. Paul, and an eastern one to St. Peter. As existing examples of the double apse I may refer to the churches of Gerode in the Hartz (Fergusson, *Hdbk.* vol. i. p. 569), Laach, Treves,

Worms, Mentz, and Augsburg.

† At the Cathedral of Ravenna may still be witnessed the interesting spectacle of the priest celebrating mass in the same relative position, *i.e.* on the side of the altar away from the people, with his face turned towards them.

Saxon churches, as far as we are able to arrive at their form and disposition, and those of Norman construction. "The old manner of building," in the words of Mr. G. G. Scott, "during a course of nearly five centuries, had failed to generate any development of a truly artistic character, and was swept at once and for ever from the face of the earth, and there was substituted for it a style which, if at first little less rude than its predecessor, contained within itself the germs of a thoroughly sound artistic system, which speedily germinated into a series of developments, the most glorious perhaps that man has ever seen."* This contrast was strongly felt by those who witnessed the introduction into England of the Norman style of building and arrangement. It was regarded by them as a new kind of design, *novum genus compositionis*,† and in no sense a development of the style already practised among them; and its unmis- takeable superiority to anything that had yet been seen in England excited a spirit of emulation to which we are indebted for the reconstruction of nearly all our Cathedrals and large Abbey churches.‡

Passing over as foreign to my object all investigations as to the origin and growth of the Norman style of ecclesiastical architecture, I will proceed to consider the novel features in plan, design, and arrangement introduced by the Norman architects in the immense and stately churches with which in an incredibly short space of time they covered the new land of their adoption.

For the first genuine Norman work erected on British soil we must go back to the period immediately preceding the Conquest. Edward the Confessor, by education, by taste, in almost everything but his birth and paternal descent, a Norman, while he imported into his kingdom the advanced civilization in the midst of which he had grown up on the other side of the Channel, also introduced the improved architectural skill manifested in the huge and elaborate churches which were continually rising there. Westminster Abbey (to quote Mr. Freeman) was built by him "in the newest style of the day, and it

* Royal Academy Lectures, Jan. 30, 1868.

† William of Malmesbury, ii. 228: "Ecclesia . . . quam ipse (Edward

the Confessor) novo compositionis genere primus in Anglia ædificaverat, quod nunc pene cuncti sumptuosis æmulantur expensis."

remained the great object of English imitation deep into the twelfth century." Its marked superiority, as well in size and in arrangement as in design and in ornament, to anything that had preceded it, "made a deep impression on men's minds, and its erection formed an era in our national architecture."* Although the church itself has entirely passed away, giving place to the more glorious pile of Henry III., who, to afford a more fitting shrine for the body of the royal saint, scrupled not to demolish his own handiwork, the minute details given to us by those who saw it in its first glory leave us in no doubt as to its form and arrangement, and enable us to realise the features which chiefly distinguished it from the structures of earlier days. The most marked of these was its cruciform shape. Hitherto the sacred form—a visible symbol of man's Redemption in the very plan and outline of the building in which the Redeemer was worshipped—had been confined to the interior; and there, as we see in the existing Basilicas, was rather indicated by ritual arrangements, and the collocation of the columns of the arcades, than expressed in the fabric itself. The Romanesque architecture, as adopted and developed by the Norman builders, made the Cross the key-note of their whole composition. The entire building, from the foundations to the topmost coping, was ruled by the cruciform idea. Transepts boldly projecting from the body of the church, and rising to an equal height with it, now for the first time broke the long monotonous line which is so displeasing in the external view of the early Basilicas, and formed, with the nave and choir, a foundation, whose very aspect bespoke firmness and durability, for the central tower, that unfailing feature of every large monastic church. The open lantern of this tower rose, as the noblest of canopies, above the ritual choir, which in all Norman churches occupied, with its stalls and seats, the central space of the intersecting arms. A short eastern arm, ending in an apse, contained the high altar. Numerous chapels were annexed to the transepts and choir. To the west stretched the nave, to a length hitherto unseen in England. The aisles were vaulted in stone, and were divided from the nave by long

* Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. ii. p. 508-510; Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 25.

rows of arches resting on columns. They were terminated by two smaller towers, designed as belfries; but perhaps not completed till a subsequent period. In short, the Confessor's new building corresponded, in its perfected form, in all essential points, with the type which was afterwards reproduced with such marvellous profusion by the Norman church builders in England, but which was then seen for the first time on our shores.*

Immediately after the establishment of William's rule, the work of church building commenced in his new dominion. The earliest work was, most fitly, the reconstruction of the Cathedral of the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. Lanfranc, the first Norman Archbishop, on his entrance on his see, A.D. 1070, found his Cathedral, the venerable monument of Augustine and Ethelbert, in ruins, in consequence of an accidental conflagration which three years previously had laid nearly the whole city in ashes. Without delay the new prelate, with true Norman vigour, at once set about the entire destruction of what remained of the ancient church, and the erection of a new one. He was not willing to be in any respect fettered, as all later Cathedral architects have been,† by the plan and arrangements of the earlier edifice. The whole fabric, as well in its plan and design as in the details of its architecture, was to be an example of the "*novum compositionis genus*" first introduced by the Confessor. From this time forward, in all larger churches, the old Basilican plan, which had proved so unelastic and incapable of modification or expansion, was completely given up, and the new cruciform type, which, while faithful to its fundamental idea, affords such abundant scope for variety of outline and picturesqueness of grouping, was universally followed.

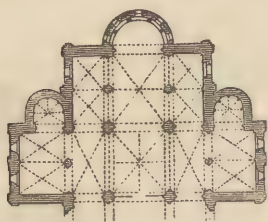
Lanfranc's Cathedral, in common with the other buildings we have as yet mentioned, no longer exists. But there is no

* Harold's Abbey Church of Waltham may also be mentioned as a construction of the same epoch, and in the same style as the Confessor's Abbey at Westminster; but it must always have been very inferior in size and importance, and the whole of the choir and transepts, the only part we can safely

attribute to its royal founder, have disappeared. The nave which alone remains, though very early in the style, was more probably erected after the Conquest.

† Salisbury is a self-evident exception. St. Paul's belongs to a different category.

doubt that in its plan and architectural features it corresponded accurately to the received Norman model, of which an example had been commenced under his direction at the Monastery of St. Stephen at Caen before his appointment to the See of Canterbury. This church, which, with the exception of its choir, still remains as Lanfranc built it, answers so closely both in plan and arrangement to Gervase's description of Lanfranc's church at Canterbury, that we can hardly doubt that one was an almost exact copy of the other. The Kentish Cathedral comprised a nave of nine bays, with aisles ending in western towers, one of which was standing as late as 1834, when an ill-advised love of uniformity led to its destruction, in order to erect a copy of the meagre Perpendicular tower at the south-west angle. Short transepts, with an apsidal chapel of two stories projecting from the eastern face of both, and a transverse



Plan of the Church of St. Stephen, Caen. From Ramée, *Histoire de l'Architecture*. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

gallery supported on an isolated pillar, for the preservation and exhibition of relics: a central lantern and (though this is only recovered by analogy) a small choir of only two bays, raised, like its predecessor, on a *confessio* or crypt, and terminating in an apse. The nave and transepts covered the same ground they do at present, but the church has been immensely extended eastwards. The whole work, to the wonder of his own generation, was completed in the space of seven years. One chief difference between the prototype at Caen and the copy at Canterbury was that, while the Norman Church was vaulted throughout with stone, its English sister, like all English churches of the epoch, was ceiled with wood. It was a full century before English builders gained sufficient courage and skill to throw a stone vault over the wide central space of their churches. In the ceiling of the nave and transept of Peterborough we have a specimen—the only one that has outlasted the casualties of fire or storm, or the more ambitious taste of later generations of church-improvers—of the mode of roofing wide central areas universal in England during Norman times. Flat ceilings are also found covering central spaces in the Norman churches of Southwell and St. Alban's;

but these are later imitations of the original roofs.* It was not that the constructive principles of vaulting were unknown. During the whole time that flat ceilings covered the central alleys, the side aisles of our large churches were regularly vaulted in stone. But the builders of that day were poor engineers, as the repeated fall of their central towers proves, and the timidity and self-distrust of inexperience crippled all their efforts in a new and untried path. So much was this the case, that though in the grand Cathedral of Durham—perhaps the most original and thoroughly-satisfying work of the Norman style we possess—the vaulting shafts show that a stone roof formed part of the architect's design from the first, it was not until the style was passing through the Transitional period into Early English that builders were found of sufficient hardihood to carry out the intention.† The continual risk from fire created by these combustible coverings, which renders the early annals of nearly all our Cathedrals and Conventual Churches little more than a record of successive conflagrations and restorations, gradually forced the twelfth-century builders to attempt the rash leap which, as in many analogous cases, when once made, proved far more easy of execution than had been supposed.

But we are anticipating, and must return to our path, and trace the development of the Cathedral type from its starting points at Westminster and Canterbury.

The second Metropolitan See was not long behind its more dignified sister in adopting the newly-imported style. Thomas, the first Norman Archbishop, after having temporarily repaired the ruins of the Saxon Cathedral, destroyed by William's Norman garrison, erected an entirely new church from the

* This description of ceiling has been lately adopted with excellent effect in the Norman naves of Waltham Abbey, Ely Cathedral—the former flat, the latter canted. Both are admirably painted, the one by Mr. Burges, the other by Mr. Styleman L'Estrange, whose work was carried on after his premature decease by another amateur, equal in artistic power and indefatigable zeal, Mr. Gambier Parry.

† The vault of Durham Nave is usually attributed to Prior Melsonby,

A.D. 1233–1244. But this date seems much too late for the work, and I am not aware that there is any documentary evidence for the assertion. In the transepts the vaulting shafts run to the roof, irrespective of the present groining, so that probably they were intended to be covered by a flat ceiling. The nave and transepts of St. Paul's, London, were covered with a stone vault, which appears from Hollar's views to have been contemporaneous with the fabric, commenced

foundations, c. A.D. 1080.* Of this Cathedral we know even less than of Lanfranc's, at Canterbury. We are enabled, however, to determine that the nave was of the same length, and its central alleys of the same breadth as those of the present church, and that the aisleless transepts had, as at Canterbury, an eastern apsidal chapel in each arm.

We have hitherto had the somewhat unsatisfactory task of speaking of fabrics no longer in being, and of endeavouring to determine their plan, style, and arrangement from a few scattered fragments, and the descriptions of contemporary analysts. We now pass on to our existing Cathedrals and Monastic Churches, which we shall see to be governed by the same dominant idea, and planned on the same principles as those which have most recently come under our notice as the expressions of Norman architectural genius. The multitude of great architectural works erected by the early Norman builders and the vast scale on which the majority of them are designed, combined with the immense solidity of the walls and the massive character of all structural features, are such as to awaken a feeling of astonishment at the indomitable energy, and the command of almost inexhaustible resources such buildings imply, and of admiration for the religious zeal, true if uninstructed, which dictated the devotion of so much labour and treasure and thought, to the honour of the Most High and the service of His Temple. "Nearly every Cathedral and great Abbey," writes Mr. G. G. Scott,† "was rebuilt on a stupendous scale; new

A.D. 1083. If so, this grand church surpassed all its contemporaries in boldness of construction and perfection of design as much as we know it did in general dimensions. The remains of Lindisfarne Priory, rebuilt A.D. 1093, still exhibit in one of the cross springers an evidence of its having had a stone vault.

* It is thought "very probable" by Prof. Willis (Architect. Hist. of York, pp. 14-16), "that Abp. Thomas only repaired the Saxon chancel, leaving it to be rebuilt," as it was subsequently by Abp. Roger, 1154-1181, "after his nave and transepts were completed."

† For the remains of the Norman church of Lichfield, including the foundations of its apse, see Prof. Willis'

Essay, *Journal of the Archæolog. Inst.*, vol. xviii. pp. 1-24. From the insignificance of its position, Wells was one of the latest of our Cathedrals to profit by the Norman zeal for building. The removal of the see to Bath by Bishop John de Villula in A.D. 1088, fully accounts for this. The Saxon Church of Edward the Elder probably remained untouched till the episcopate of Bishop Robert, A.D. 1136-1166, when it was rebuilt according to the taste of the day. Robert's church, however, has been swept away more completely than almost any other of its age. One small bit of masonry, and a single stone with Norman mouldings, built up into an adjacent house, comprise all that Mr. Freeman has been able to dis-

Cathedrals and new Abbeys were founded, and churches of all grades from these vast temples down to the smallest village-church were erected throughout the length and breadth of the country." In fact, almost every one of our existing Cathedrals is, either in its ground-plan or its actual fabric, an outward and visible sign and token of the occupation of England by its Norman conquerors, and of the advanced civilization introduced by them. A hasty survey of our Cathedrals will verify this assertion, and serve to bring home the fact, the importance of which is hardly sufficiently realized, of the permanence of the stamp thus first impressed on the ecclesiastical architecture of England.

Of the twenty-four Cathedral Churches of England, all but six—St. Paul's, Wells, Lichfield, Manchester, Ripon, and Salisbury—exhibit more or less of actual Norman work, or of the design and arrangement peculiar to that period, in the midst of the later additions with which they have been surrounded or overlaid. And even these six are hardly such as to constitute real exceptions. Manchester is a late foundation, only erected into a Collegiate Church A.D. 1422, and elevated to Cathedral rank within living memory. St. Paul's is a modern classical building replacing the vastest and grandest of all the Norman churches of England; while Salisbury is the representative of the ancient Norman Cathedral founded by St. Osmund A.D. 1078–1099, within the inhospitable hill fortress of Old Sarum. The other three—Lichfield, Ripon, and Wells—stand on the site of Norman buildings, and enshrine relics of the original structures, either beneath the pavements or within the walls of the later erections.*

Of the remaining eighteen, seven — Durham, Chichester, Gloucester, Hereford, Norwich, Oxford, and Peterborough—are strictly Norman buildings; for although there is not one to which later additions have not been made, and which has

cover. "Whatever was built in the days of Robert has utterly vanished." (Freeman, Cathedral Church of Wells, p. 69.) It is an almost unparalleled fact in the history of our Cathedrals that, in Mr. Freeman's words, "a church most likely of the tenth century, remained at least to the middle of the

twelfth century, and that large portions of it were not improbably standing even in the thirteenth." At Ripon nothing distinctly Norman can be pointed out beyond the so-called Chapter-house and the crypt below it, annexed to the south aisle of the choir.

* Royal Academy Lectures, 1868.

not been subjected to continual alteration and modification, the original fabric stands out plain and unmistakeable in its rugged grandeur. Of the others, the nave and transepts at Ely, at Rochester the nave, at Winchester the transepts, are among the grandest and most characteristic examples of the Norman style.* The almost unique transeptal towers at Exeter, the fragmentary nave at Carlisle, one transept at Chester, also bespeak their Norman founder. Even Cathedrals which to an ordinary observer appear to be entirely structures of a later date, will usually yield up evidences of their Norman origin to the more searching investigator. The crypts of Canterbury, Worcester, and York reveal the plan and character of the churches that preceded the existing fabrics, while in the first-named Cathedral a close examination of the walls of the eastern limb both within and without will prove how much of the "glorious choir" of Ernulph and Conrad still survives amidst the lighter and more refined work of the two Williams; and at Worcester a practised eye will as certainly discover the Norman character of the transepts. At Bristol the evidences of Norman date in the church itself are of the minutest. But a capital in the south transept and some corbels in a staircase on the north side, and the masonry of other parts, offer proof which cannot be gainsaid that the walls of Fitzharding's church A.D. 1148 still, in the main, exist. Even Lincoln, which comes next to Salisbury as a building of one style, and where no rude inartistic relics of a previous age disturb the exquisite harmony which unites the Early English in its varied progressive development into one perfect whole, is not entirely destitute of structural traces of its founder Remigius, and his Norman successors. The foundations of the apse and side-walls of his choir lurk unseen beneath the floor of the stalls, while the three gigantic cavernous recesses of the west front, which in their rude outlines dimly foreshadow the glories of Peterborough's transcendent portal, manifest the sternness of the early Norman character as truly as the intricate arcades rising tier above tier at the base

* The nave of Winchester is also essentially a Norman structure, but transformed into Perpendicular by William of Wykeham's ingenuity, without disturbing the solidity of the

original walls and cores of the pillars. The choir of Gloucester has been converted into the same style in a much less artistic and satisfactory manner.

of the western towers and their gables, in their barbaric richness, tell of the increased refinement and advanced architectural skill which was gradually developing itself on both sides of the Channel.

If we desire to know what was the character of these stupendous fabrics when they first issued from the hands of their Norman architects, there are sufficient materials to enable us to form a very distinct idea. Divested of later alterations which at once declare themselves, the entire fabrics of Peterborough, Norwich, Durham, Gloucester, Hereford, Chichester, and the great Abbey Church of St. Alban's, together with the large Norman portions of Ely, Winchester, Rochester, &c., mentioned above, set before us most clearly the Norman Minster in its majestic, almost awful simplicity—

“ They dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build.”

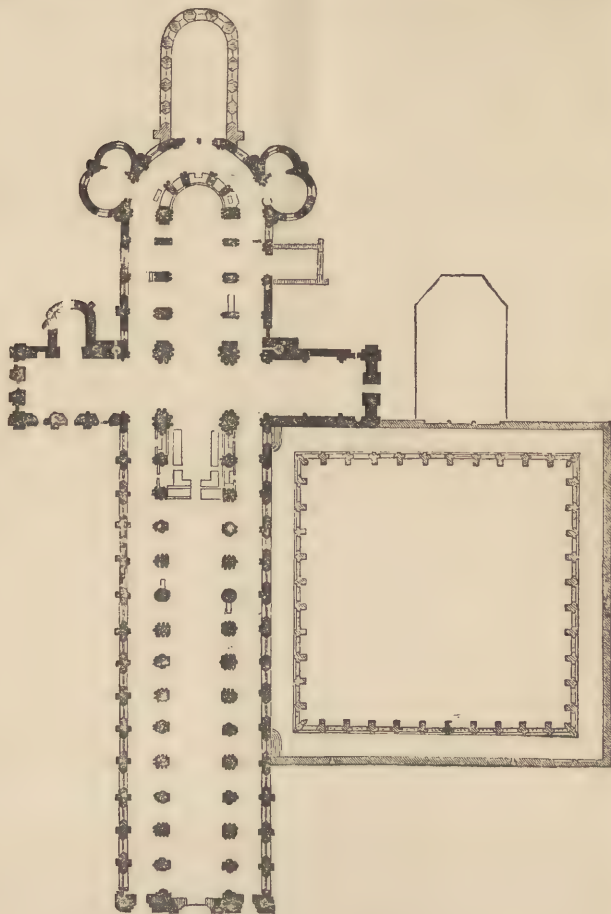
Of them all, none preserve their original Norman plan and elevations, both internal and external, so little undisturbed as Norwich, Peterborough, and St. Alban's. None display more prominently the peculiar characteristics of the style. We see the long unbroken nave (extending to the length at Norwich of 250 feet, Peterborough 211 feet, St. Alban's 280 feet*), bay after bay succeeding one another in unbroken succession, but with minor modifications which add to the picturesqueness without detracting from the harmony;† the transept of bold projection, so happily interrupting the continuous lines of the main arm of the cross, the chapels projecting from its eastern

* Norwich has the largest number of bays in its nave, 14; Ely had 13 before the fall of its centre tower, reduced now to 12; St. Alban's and Bury, 13; old St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, Winchester, each 12; Peterborough, 11; Canterbury, Gloucester, Worcester, each 9; Chichester, Durham, Hereford, Rochester, York, and probably the Norman Cathedral of Lincoln, each 8; Chester, excluding the western towers, 6. Of later Cathedrals, where it is uncertain how far the later builders were fettered by the old design, Wells has 10 bays; Lichfield and Lincoln, including the western towers, 8;

Exeter, 7; Ripon, including the western towers, 6. The fragments of the naves of Oxford and Carlisle have respectively 4 and 2 bays. Salisbury and Manchester, where there was no Norman Church to influence the designers, have respectively 10 and 6 bays.

† The length of the naves of some other Cathedrals which retain their Norman plan unchanged, are Ely, 203 ft.; York, 210 ft.; Canterbury, 190 ft. Winchester, before the demolition of its western towers, extended to the stupendous length of 300 ft., which was equalled by old St. Paul's and exceeded by Bury, 309 ft.

face for the reception of the altars now so rapidly increasing in number; the central lantern, with the ritual choir below it, the short eastern arm, or constructional choir, terminating in



Plan of Norwich Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

the universal feature, a semicircular apse,* soon to be laid aside for the afterwards equally universal rectangular east end.

* At St. Alban's the apse has given place to an Early English choir. The original apsidal termination only exists

in its pristine form at Norwich Peterborough, and Canterbury, the Abbeys of Tewkesbury, Pershore, and in a

In no part of our Norman Cathedrals was there so much scope for diversity of arrangement as in the chapels which clustered round the transepts and choir. The number and position of these was determined by the religious wealth of the Cathedral or Abbey. If the foundation was rich in relics of the older saints, or could boast of the possession of the entire bodies of bishops and holy men of later times, or could show with pride particular spots consecrated by heavenly visions and authenticated by miracles, chapels sprang up in abundance, the plan of which, as Prof. Willis has pointed out,* is usually distributed so as to display those treasures to the greatest advantage, while the offerings of the faithful at these hallowed shrines formed a source of wealth continually flowing in to enable the religious bodies to provide the requisite accommodation for the relics and their worshippers.

The transeptal arrangements of our early churches, modified according to this law, vary very considerably both in projection and in plan. The normal transept was aisleless, of somewhat moderate projection, with one or more apsidal chapels containing altars projecting from the east face.† These chapels were commonly of two stories, with altars on the triforium level.‡ We see this arrangement still existing at Gloucester, and can prove it at Canterbury, Chichester, &c. There were two at St. Alban's (one larger than the other), as there still are in the later examples of the eastern transepts at Canterbury and Lincoln. Another form of chapel arrangement which latterly entirely superseded the apsidal, gave an eastern aisle to the transepts, each bay of which was devoted to a sepa-

modified form on the original foundations at Winchester and Gloucester. It has been destroyed in later alterations at Chester, Chichester, Durham, Lichfield, Lincoln, Worcester, and York; in all of which instances, except the last-named, remains of the curved wall are still visible or have been discovered by excavation. The apses of Westminster Abbey and Lichfield are anomalies to be accounted for on separate principles.

* Architectural History of Canterbury, Introduction, p. viii.

† There was a single apsidal chapel attached to each transept at Canter-

bury, Chester, Chichester, Romsey, Southwell, Worcester, York, Gloucester, and Norwich, though it only remains in the two last named.

‡ The upper chapel in the N. transept of Canterbury contained the altar and relics of St. Blaise, "the first martyr whose bones had been brought into the church, and which gave the little chapel a peculiar sanctity; the lower contained the altar of St. Benedict, under whose rule, from the time of Dunstan, the monastery had been placed." Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, p. 73.

rate altar. As Norman examples, we may instance, with three such chapels in either transept, Winchester, Peterborough, Ely, and Durham. Old St. Paul's and Bury, in this as in almost every particular, surpassing most other English churches, had four.*

The eastern transept aisle, constructed for the reception of altars, was in some few instances balanced by one to the west, a plan productive of such pleasing harmony that it is cause for regret that it was not more often adopted. The transepts have double aisles at Winchester, Ely (old St. Paul's), York, Wells, Westminster, and the lovely collegiate church of Beverley. The north transept of Oxford and the south transept of Chester also adopt the same plan. Another ritual arrangement, by no means unusual in the churches of Normandy, connected with the preservation and exhibition of relics of peculiar sanctity, may be mentioned here. This is a transverse gallery at the triforium level carried across the north and south ends of the transepts. The only existing examples of this arrangement are in the transepts of Winchester, where it is supported by two arches rising from a single central column continuing the aisle arcade; and at Ely, where "it is erected on more pillars, and set closer to the wall than usual."† But we know that such a gallery existed in the Norman Cathedral of Canterbury, both from Gervase's description, and from the history of the murder of Becket, of which the space beneath the gallery of the north transept, subsequently known as "the Martyrdom," was the scene. It was against the pillar supporting this gallery that the Archbishop planted himself in his final struggle with his assassins, so vividly depicted by Dean Stanley in his 'Memorials of Canterbury.'‡ A later example of this gallery may be pointed out in the northern arm of the eastern or St. Hugh's transept at Lincoln, c. 1200, in which the transverse wall is carried up to the roof, repeating the triforium and clerestory.

* Later examples are Lincoln, Salisbury, York, and Westminster, three each. At Ripon, Wells, and the south transept of Hereford, there are two. Exeter, with its anomalous transeptal towers, has one.

† Willis, Arch. Hist. of Canterbury, p. 39, note.

‡ Willis, p. 75. This pillar, as well as the vault and gallery that rested on it,

"was taken down in process of time out of respect for the martyr, that the altar, elevated on the place of the martyrdom might be seen from a greater distance. Around and at the height of the aforesaid vault a gallery was constructed from which *pallia* and curtains might be suspended." Gervase, apud Willis, *u. s.* p. 41.

From the transeptal chapels we pass to those of the choir. In the earlier Norman churches we find examples of chapels radiating from the main apse or its aisles. We may instance those of Norwich, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury, as well as those of which we have unmistakeable indications at Chester, Chichester, and Leominster. This arrangement, as is well known, attained a high development in the French churches, and was brought to perfection at Rheims and Amiens, which last seems to have been taken as the type for the grouping of eastern chapels* in all subsequent erections. But for some unexplained cause this arrangement failed to find favour in our Island. It was never extensively adopted, and soon died out, together with its essential companion the apse. Henry III. appears to have become enamoured of this arrangement during his sojourn in France, and he adopted it in his reconstruction of the choir of Westminster Abbey. We have another example of it in the Abbey Church of Pershore. But royal patronage was not powerful enough to obtain its general adoption, and it died out, with an exceptional resuscitation at Lichfield, and in one of the latest existing Gothic works, the Chapel of Henry the Seventh. So general has been the destruction of the eastern terminations of our large churches in subsequent alterations, that it is difficult to speak with any certainty of the character of the chapels that ended our Cathedrals in the east. Not one remains complete. We have the walls of a Norman chapel at Chichester; the foundations of one at Norwich; and we are able at Canterbury to reproduce the form and dimensions of the square-ended chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity at the east end of the Cathedral, at the altar of which "the blessed martyr Thomas celebrated his first mass on the day of his consecration," and in which he "was buried on the day after his martyrdom."† The eastern chapel at Winchester was apsidal; and a chapel of the same form stood at the east end of Chester.‡

It would be unpardonable to leave the subject of the choirs

* Mr. Scott (Gleanings from Westminster Abbey, p. 13) mentions "Beauvais, Cologne, Altenberg, and a host of other instances," as indebted for the grouping of their eastern chapels to

Amiens, with, in the German examples perhaps, Beauvais as their intermediate type.

† Gervase. Willis, *u. s.* pp. 46, 47.

‡ Scott, Arch. Hist. of Chester, p. 7.

of Norman Cathedrals, without saying a few words concerning the crypts on which the eastern arm or presbytery (as distinguished from the ritual choir, which was always under the lantern) was frequently elevated. There are four of these crypts in England with apsidal terminations, which, in order of time, are Winchester, Worcester, Gloucester, and Canterbury, all built in the last twenty years of the eleventh century. The crypt of York, of the latter half of the next century, was filled up solid with earth at the time of the erection of the present choir, A.D. 1380-1400, and its existence forgotten. It was only rediscovered during the repairs of the choir after the lamentable fire of 1829. It has lost its eastern termination, but in other respects it corresponds to those already named. At Rochester, an extensive crypt supports the choir and presbytery, the western part of which is evidently of Gundulf's work, A.D. 1076-1107; but the eastern portion is Early English of the date of the superior building. Of these subterranean structures, the Crypt of Canterbury is the largest and most elaborate in its arrangements; but that of Worcester, with its intricate forest of slender columns, is the most picturesque. In these crypts, we see the northern representatives of the *martyrium* or *confessio* of the primitive basilicas, reproduced according to the best skill of the Norman architects. Their object was two-fold: to raise the altar on high in order that the celebration of the sacred mysteries might be clearly visible to all below, and to provide a place of interment for those whom the Church wished most to honour, and whose hallowed bones were regarded as her most precious possession. They were by no means universal even in Norman times, and are not found at all in any of the later styles; except where, as at Rochester and old St. Paul's, the requirements of the existing building forced them upon the subsequent architects. Their construction may indeed be regarded as a piece of architectural conservatism, highly valued by some, as linking their churches more directly to those of the metropolis of Christendom; but disregarded by those of more progressive tastes and more utilitarian views. There is no trace of a crypt at St. Alban's, standing first among Abbeys as Canterbury does among Cathedrals; nor at Ely, erected by Abbot Simeon at the very time that his brother Walkelyn constructing his crypt

at Winchester; nor at Remigius' Norman Minster at Lincoln; nor at Chichester; nor at Norwich; nor at Durham; nor at Peterborough, all erected between the middle of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; still less in any church of more modern date. The formation of crypts was, in fact, a foreign fashion, which failed to take permanent root in England, and indeed elsewhere barely outlasted the Romanesque period.*

Before I pass on to later developments of our Cathedral architecture, reference must be made to the towers of our Norman churches. These were much more numerous than is usually supposed. For the completeness of the design of a large Norman church, at least three towers were requisite—that in the centre, at the intersections of the arms of the cross, beneath which the ritual choir was always placed; and two at the western extremities of the aisles. The design of the Confessor's Abbey at Westminster included these three towers, though the western ones seem not to have been finished till after his death. Lanfranc's Cathedral at Canterbury was thus provided; and, as I have already said, one of his western towers remained till a recent date. We also find them, or their successors, more or less perfect, at Durham, Chichester, Lincoln, Southwell, Ripon, Worksop, Old Maldon, Wells, Lichfield, and Peterborough. They formerly existed at Chester, Gloucester, Winchester, St. Alban's, and Bury St. Edmund's. But besides these essential elements of a perfect Norman design, the architects of that day gratified their fancy in raising numerous towers and turrets of slenderer dimensions in other positions about the walls of their churches. A favourite situation for these minor towers was at the east end, flanking the apse. The eastern turrets at Peterborough are examples of this arrangement; and they are known to have existed at Canterbury, York, Winchester, and Worcester. Those at Canterbury, known by the hallowed names of St. Anselm and St. Andrew, were so sacred in the eyes of the later builders, that the curious and awkward contraction in the plan of Trinity Chapel is owing to the unwillingness to sacrifice them. Subsequent architects unfortunately

* At Bury, the shrine of St. Edmund was raised on a Roman crypt supported by 24 pillars. The crypt beneath the Early English Lady Chapel at Here-

ford was rendered necessary by the rapid fall of the ground towards the river, and is quite an exceptional case.

had less reverence for antiquity, and only the basement stories now remain. The transept gables were also sometimes flanked with small towers or turrets, of which we have examples at Durham and in the eastern transept of Canterbury. An incomplete arch in the north transept at Winchester evidences that there also such an arrangement was contemplated, if not carried out.

The central towers or lanterns were usually of no great altitude, as we see at Winchester, Ripon, and Southwell. But the soaring towers at Norwich, Tewkesbury, and St. Alban's afford a visible evidence that this was by no means always the case. The description of the original central tower at Peterborough leads us to believe that it also was lofty.

The Norman towers of Bishop Warelwast at Exeter occupy a very unusual position, shared in, however, by the neighbouring church of Ottery St. Mary, as north and south transepts. At Ely there is a single western tower, the work of Bishop Ridel, in the Transition style, as there was at Bury, and at Hereford before its lamentable fall A.D. 1786. Both these last were of Norman construction, though that of Hereford had received Perpendicular additions.*

I now return to the examination of the ground-plans and arrangements of the fabrics of our Cathedrals, which in the latter part of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries were to receive a new development, destined materially to affect the character of almost all the chief churches of England. As has been already seen, the eastern limb, as originally planned by its Norman architects, was in most cases of very moderate length. The fact was, that existing requirements did not render any considerable space at the east end necessary. The area under the lantern afforded abundant room for the ritual choir and the ordinary services of the Hours, while the three or four

* The only spires now existing in our English Cathedrals are those of Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, and Oxford, all central, and the three—one central and two western—of Lichfield. They were much more common in the Middle Ages; but were frequently of wood covered with lead, and so were more liable to disasters from wind, lightning, and that most fatal of all

destructive agencies, the carelessness of workmen. Timber spires covered with lead have been destroyed on the three towers of Lincoln and Ripon, the N.W. towers of Canterbury and Peterborough, the W. towers of Durham and Southwell, the central towers of Hereford, Rochester, and St. Alban's, and the western tower of Ely.

bays that intervened between the tower and the apse gave room enough for all that was wanted to add dignity to the Eucharistic celebration. In the centre of the chord of the semicircle stood the high altar, behind which, in the middle of the curve, was the seat of the bishop or chief minister, as it may still be seen in the apse of Norwich, and in a more perfect form at the Cathedral of Torcello, near Venice. On either side of the high altar rose the shrines of such saints, greater or lesser, whose relics the Church had the good fortune to be able to call her own.* But as time went on, these hallowed treasures increased in number and in attractiveness. The tombs of departed saints became the accredited centres of miraculous agencies, and drew to themselves ever-increasing crowds of votaries, desiring not only an interest in the holy man's intercessions, but, still more, a share in the physical benefits of which his remains were supposed to be the divinely-appointed channels to suffering humanity. To accommodate these vast throngs, as well as to afford space for the due exhibition of the objects of their veneration, a greatly enlarged eastern limb was required: and in one cathedral and great church after another we find the same process of eastern extension gone through, and for the accomplishment of the same object. It matters little what Cathedral it is to which our enquiry is directed, the result is the same. Wherever the fabric has been elongated to the East an examination of the documentary history will show that the motive was identical, the necessity for increased shrine-room, and an enlarged area for the reception of the worshippers of the local saint. This fact—which has hardly received the prominence due to its importance—also affords an explanation of the enlargements received by our Cathedrals being, almost without exception, confined to the eastern limb, and the chapels grouped about it. In almost every instance the nave occupies the same ground, if it be not actually the same fabric, as that originally built by the Normans; while there are but seven instances—

* At Canterbury the shrine of St. Elphege was placed on the north of the high altar; that of St. Dunstan on the south, with their respective altars to the west of the shrine. At Worcester the shrine of St. Oswald stood in advance of the high altar to the

north, and that of the sainted Bishop Wulstan to the south. The very unsaintly John Lackland found his resting-place between the holy men, "that," adds the chronicler, "the saying of Merlin might be verified, *he shall be placed between the saints.*"

Winchester, Gloucester, Durham, Hereford, Norwich, Oxford, and Peterborough—in which the walls of the choir have not received eastward elongation, and in all of these, with the single exception of Oxford, chapels have been added still further to the east.

The first impulse in the direction of this eastward enlargement proceeded most naturally from the same quarter in which the first example of a Norman Cathedral was given, the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury. The eastern limb of Lanfranc's church very speedily proved inadequate for the requirements of the brethren, and about A.D. 1093, within twenty years of its completion, it was pulled down by the prior and monks of the monastery, at the instance or at least with the approbation of his successor Anselm. The work was begun by Prior Ernulf, and finished by Prior Conrad.

So extensive was this enlargement that the area of the church, as Prof. Willis has shewn, was nearly doubled by it; and "as no ruin, fire, or other casualty has been recorded, it must be assumed that the sole reason for this change was that the monks did not think their church large enough for the importance of their monastery; and above all"—and this we cannot doubt was the leading motive—"that they wanted shrine-room for the display of the relics they had so assiduously collected; and also for the proper disposition of their ancient archbishops, most of whom appear to have been canonized."* The ground-plan of the choir of Canterbury as reconstructed under Anselm—"the glorious choir of Conrad" as it was styled by Gervase—given by Professor Willis,† enables us at a glance to realise the prodigious stride taken by Prior Ernulf, and followed, though somewhat tardily, by successive generations of English church builders. Instead of the short constructional choir, hardly ever exceeding four bays, and often having a smaller number, we see a choir of no less than nine bays to the springing of the apse; and the apse itself, not a mere semi-circular wall, but a graceful *chevet* of six columns, with their intermediate arches opening into the aisle, continued as a "procession path" round it. We remark also the appearance

* Willis, Arch. Hist. of Cant., p. 63.

† Ibid., p. 39.

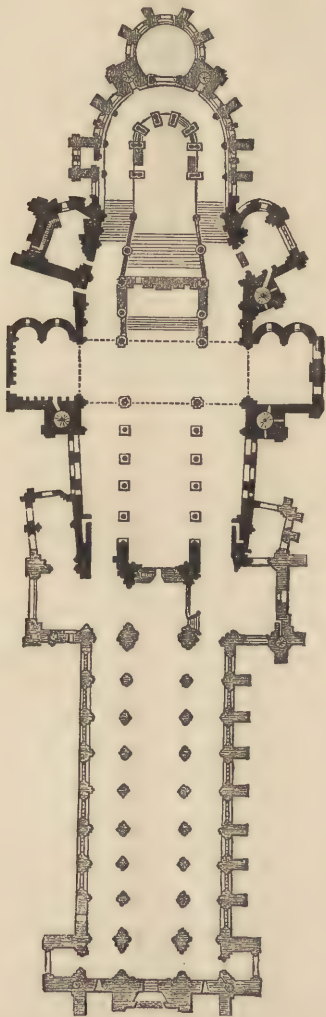
of a new feature, probably borrowed from the great Abbey of Clugny, viz., a second eastern transept, of greater projection than the transepts of the original Norman church, each with two apsidal chapels attached to the east wall.* The apse was flanked with two towers, bearing the names of St. Andrew and St. Anselm, with eastern apses containing altars. The whole terminated in a square-ended chapel, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The large number of altars, many of them enshrining relics of peculiar sanctity, and tombs of canonized archbishops, appearing on the plan, demonstrate the motive which led to this immense extension of the church both in length and area.

On the 5th of September, A.D. 1174—forty-four years after its solemn dedication in the presence of Henry I. of England, David of Scotland, and all the English bishops, A.D. 1130—not quite two months after Henry II. had done penance in the Cathedral for his complicity in the death of Becket, now a canonized saint, this new choir of Ernulf and Conrad was so seriously damaged by the disastrous fire, so vividly depicted in the narrative of Gervase, that it became necessary almost to rebuild it. The shattered walls were retained as far as possible, but they were considerably heightened, a vault of stone was thrown over the central alley, as a safeguard against future conflagrations, and it again received a considerable addition of length. The architect at first employed was a Frenchman, William of Sens. After he had been crippled by a fall from a scaffold, at the beginning of the fifth year of the work, another William, distinguished from his predecessor as “William the Englishman,” “small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest,” was called in, and by him the work was brought to a completion, A.D. 1184. The motive for this second elongation was to do honour to the

* We find the double transept also in its full development in the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Salisbury, and Worcester, and in the Collegiate Church of Beverley. At York it seems to have formed part of the plan of Archbishop Roger's church; but its projection was small, and it has been virtually lost in the increased breadth of the aisles. It appears also in the ground-plans of Rochester, Hereford, and Wells, but

its height is limited to the aisle range, and it is a mere appendage to the Lady Chapel in the last two instances. A transept at the extreme east is a remarkable feature at Durham and Fountains Abbey. A western transept formed by the bases of the western towers and appended chapels is found at Lincoln, Peterborough, Wells, and partially at Lichfield.

great saint with whose name Canterbury was to be henceforth inseparably connected.* At the extreme east end stood the chapel of the Holy Trinity, where Becket had celebrated his



Plan of Canterbury Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

* "Moreover," writes Gervase, 'he laid the foundation for the enlargement of the church at the eastern part, because a chapel of St. Thomas was to be built there.'

first mass, and in the crypt beneath which his body was first interred. Thus, in Dean Stanley's words, the ruling idea of the rebuilders of the church was, not merely to secure the honourable collocation of the lesser and older relics of the church, but much more "to provide a fitting abode for their greater and more recent treasure, through which they were daily obtaining those vast pecuniary resources that alone could have enabled them to rebuild the church on its present splendid scale."*

The temptation is great to linger over this most interesting page in the architectural history of our Cathedrals, but it has been ably elucidated, both in its historical and constructional aspects, by the pens of such masters in their respective arts as Dean Stanley and Professor Willis, and I must hasten forwards.

The works of the two Williams were examples of what is known as the Transitional style, in which the sterner features of Norman architecture were gradually softening into the pure Gothic, in its first or "Early English" type. The earliest known work in which this exquisite style was adopted, without any admixture of the Norman influence, either in form, details, or mouldings, is St. Hugh's Choir at Lincoln. On his appointment to the See of Lincoln, A.D. 1186, Hugh found his church rent from top to bottom by an earthquake that had occurred the preceding year. This Church, as we have had occasion to remark, was a Norman one, built from the ground by Remigius, the first Norman Bishop, and completed at his death, A.D. 1092. It had passed through the usual vicissitudes of fire, and storm, and human violence, and had received the important addition of a stone vault and western towers from Bishop Alexander, A.D. 1123-1148. The new prelate, one of the very greatest and noblest of English Bishops of any age, at once determined to rebuild the shattered fabric. He called to his side an architect, Geoffrey of Noyers, who, in spite of his French name, "may well have been a thorough born and bred Englishman, with three or four generations of English parents before him,"† and began where the rebuilder of mediæval churches always did begin, with the eastern arm. His plan

* Memorials of Canterbury, p. 187.

† Dimock, Lincoln Arch. Soc. Papers, 1867-8, p. 196.

embraced an aisled choir of four bays, an eastern transept, with two apsidal chapels in each arm, as at Canterbury, and a large *chevet* or apse, the foundations of which are known still to exist beneath the pavement, awaiting future disinterment and investigation. The whole is vaulted in stone. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into architectural details, and we must content ourselves with a reference to the recorded opinion of one of the first living authorities, Mr. Edmund Sharpe, that "the dignified simplicity of the whole of this work, the largeness of treatment, and the vigorous originality of conception with which the entire design has been conceived and executed, demand our highest admiration, and place this grand work clearly at the head, as well in point of time as of excellence, of all the works of the Lancet period."* St. Hugh's plan involved a considerable extension of the Norman choir, which appears to have been of very small dimensions, and aisleless, and provided a large increase of chapel room.

The earliest instance of the erection of chapels beyond the constructional choir in the Early English period is seen in the Lady Chapel erected by Bishop de Lucy, at Winchester, A.D. 1189-1204. This is a work of great value, both from its simplicity and beauty and well ascertained date, and as being an early example of what became so frequent afterwards—a Lady Chapel of considerable size and great architectural splendour, built at the extreme east end of a Cathedral or other great church. This, however, was by no means its universal, or, perhaps, its earliest position. A favourite place for the Lady Chapel was to the north of the choir, in close connection with the northern transept.† In the Norman Cathedral of Canterbury, the Lady Chapel had occupied the two easternmost bays of the north aisle of the nave. Prior Goldston, c. A.D. 1449-1468, shifted it further

* Lincoln Arch. Soc. Papers, *u. s.* p. 185.

† According to Mr. Buckler (*Hist. of St. Alban's Abbey Church*, p. 43), "in the general Norman plan of conventual churches the Lady Chapel seems usually to have occupied a lateral position, and not to have formed the eastern extremity of the building: its

introduction in the latter position belongs to the design of churches of subsequent antiquity." The present Lady Chapel at St. Alban's was added to the east end of the choir by Abbot Hugh of Eversden, temp. Edw. II. The Lady Chapel at Bury occupied the angle between the north transept and the choir.

eastward, rebuilding, in the richest style of the day, with a fan vault, the apsidal chapel of St. Benedict, opening from the north transept or Martyrdom, famous in Becket's history as that to the altar of which the Monk Grim fled for refuge after his ineffectual defence of the Archbishop.* In the Cathedral of Bristol, the Lady Chapel of Early English date, assigned by Mr. Godwin to Abbot John, A.D. 1196-1215, occupies a similar position to the east of the north transept. The exquisitely beautiful Decorated Lady Chapel of Ely, founded A.D. 1321, stands in the same relative situation, as was the case with that of Peterborough of earlier date, A.D. 1278, a magnificent structure, demolished after the Restoration for the sake of the materials. Other situations may be mentioned. At Rochester, the Lady Chapel is a Perpendicular building, projecting most anomalously from the west side of the south transept. At Durham, c. A.D. 1175, where it is better known as the *Galilee*, it stands outside the western wall, at the extreme west end of the nave. At Oxford—the city wall precluding any extension eastward—the Lady Chapel was built towards the middle of the thirteenth century, as an additional aisle on the north side of the choir; and finally, at Ripon, it forms a Decorated upper story, known as the *Lady Loft*, added to the Norman chapter-house on the south side of the choir.

This architectural development of the Lady Chapel, contemporaneous with the commencement of the thirteenth century, together with the curious variety in its position, opens an enquiry of considerable interest in connection with the new direction taken by popular religious feeling at this epoch. Dean Stanley has correctly called attention to the fact that “the fashion which sprung up in most of the larger churches during the thirteenth century, of throwing out a still further east end” beyond the high altar, had its origin “in the eagerness to give a higher and holier than even the higher and holiest place to any great saint on whom popular devotion was fastened.” “This notion,” he continues, “happened to coincide, in point of time, with the burst of devotion towards the Virgin Mary which took place under the pontificate of Innocent III., during the first years of the thirteenth century; and therefore,

* Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 76.

in all cases where there was no special local saint, the eastern end was dedicated to 'Our Lady,' and the chapel thus formed became 'the Lady Chapel.* . . . But when the popular feeling of any city or neighbourhood had been directed to some indigenous object of devotion, this at once took the highest place, and the Lady Chapel, if any there were, was thrust down to a less honourable position;" or, as was not unfrequently the case, "Our Lady" and the local saint were permitted to occupy the place of peculiar dignity at the east end, in a kind of joint tenancy.

It is this precedence assigned to local objects of devotion by the religious bodies, who so well knew how to gauge the popular feeling, and whose zealous rivalry for the increased magnificence of their own churches led them to give the preference to that form of devotion which would be likely to bring in the largest amount of offerings, that enables us to explain the position of several of the Lady Chapels already noticed. At Canterbury, the shrine of St. Thomas; at Westminster, that of the Confessor; at Durham, that of St. Cuthbert; at Ely, that of St. Etheldreda; at Rochester, that of St. William of Perth; at Ripon, that of St. Wilfrid, were the most locally attractive; and the Chapel of Our Lady had to retire to a subordinate position. Of the arrangement whereby the eastern addition was shared by the Virgin and the local saint, the most notable instances are at Lichfield, where the altar of the Virgin was associated with that of St. Chad, with that of St. Hugh at Lincoln, of St. Osmund at Salisbury, and of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan at Worcester, and of St. William at York. In other cases, where there was no such local rivalry, the eastern chapel was devoted to the honour of "Our Lady" alone.†

This, to return from our digression, appears to have been the case at Winchester, as it was at Hereford, Salisbury, Chester, Chichester, Exeter, Wells, and other churches. That of Westminster Abbey was added at the sole expense of the young king, Henry III., A.D. 1220-1240. In these instances,

* Memorials of Canterbury, pp. 188, 189.

† At Hereford the north transept was rebuilt on an extended scale to receive the shrine of St. Thomas of

Cantelupe. May not the shrine of St. Oswald have afforded a similar motive, and provided resources for the erection of the disproportionately large south transept at Chester?

this elongation of the choir was formed by low eastern aisles, not rising to the full height of the building, and arranged with an especial view to the circulation of the processions round the church, as they visited in succession the altars in its eastern portion. In some other of our larger churches the eastern additions are of the full height of the choir itself, an arrangement which, if wanting in the picturesqueness created by the grouping of the pillars and arches of the lower aisles, is greatly superior in stately grandeur. The most remarkable instances of this arrangement are (to omit Canterbury, of which we have already spoken) Worcester, Beverley, Southwell, Ely, Lincoln, Lichfield, and York. Old St. Paul's, built on the same plan, seems to have gone beyond them all in size and magnificence. At Chichester, Chester, and Wells the choir has been elongated, maintaining the same elevation, and a lower Lady Chapel added beyond it. Of all these Lady Chapels, the palm for exquisite beauty, as well as for constructional ingenuity, must be assigned to that of Wells. Belonging to the best period of English art—for it was finished before A.D. 1326—it displays all the peculiar beauties of the Decorated style in the highest perfection. Its form, an elongated octagon, opening towards the west by arches rising from shafts of exquisite slenderness, is singularly picturesque, and it is united to the body of the church with consummate skill.

The outburst of devotion of which we have spoken as at the same time affording the motive and providing the means for the erection of the important works undertaken at the commencement and in the early part of the thirteenth century—"the great creative century of later English history"*—for the extension of the eastern limbs of our Cathedrals was, fortunately for Art, contemporaneous with the highest development of mediæval architecture, in which, among many other forms "the fresh exuberant life, the daring and devotion of the age, found one means of expression."

These eastern additions exhibit much that is loveliest in the architecture of our Cathedrals. However much we may find to deplore in the grovelling superstition to which the creation of the miraculous shrines of local saints pandered, we may at least

* Freeman, *Hist. of Wells*, p. 105.

feel thankful to those who were the official recipients of the offerings which bore witness to the earnest though mistaken faith of the devotees, that instead of employing them on aggrandizing or enriching themselves, they devoted them to so noble a purpose in the construction of architectural works which will never cease to command admiration and awaken delight. The earliest of these eastern enlargements we may notice is the exquisite Presbytery of Ely, one of the most beautiful examples of pure Early English, erected by Bishop Northwold, A.D. 1229-1254, as a more spacious receptacle for the honoured remains of St. Etheldreda. Bp. Northwold began his new work at the point where the Norman choir ended, preserving on the whole the levels of the earlier design. The result of this is, that the triforium space is rather higher and more important than is usual in Early English work where the architect was entirely unfettered. This is still more apparent in the three delicious bays, intervening between Bishop Northwold's work and the lantern, with which Bishop Hotham (A.D. 1345-1362) replaced the original Norman choir when crushed by the fall of the central tower, and it constitutes the only thing approaching to a defect in a design which may be safely regarded as the best example of the Decorated period to be found in England. Passing over, for want of space, many similar works which crowded this period of ceaseless joyous activity—such as the presbytery of Chichester, dedicated A.D. 1199; the choir and transepts of Rochester, chiefly erected from the offerings at St. William's wonder-working shrine, c. A.D. 1227; the presbytery, eastern transepts, and choir of Worcester, begun A.D. 1224, with "the profits of the tomb and shrine of St. Wulstan, whose reputation as a worker of miracles was manifestly increasing;"* the choir and presbytery of Wells; the eastern transept or chapel of nine altars, at Durham, A.D. 1242-1290—we must hasten on to the glorious presbytery or "angel choir" of Lincoln, one of the most perfect designs ever conceived or executed by man, the first complete specimen of the true Edwardian style of perfected English art. St. Hugh, who died A.D. 1200, was speedily canonized, and, according to the belief of the age, his tomb soon became

* Willis, Arch. Journ. xx. p. 99.

the scene of numerous miraculous cures. The usual result followed. The Cathedral was thronged with devotees earnestly seeking to obtain relief from their maladies, or to secure the saint's influence towards the accomplishment of their objects. The original place of Hugh's interment proved inconveniently straitened, and it became necessary to erect a larger and more appropriate resting-place for the hallowed remains. The scheme was taken in hand about the middle of the thirteenth century, A.D. 1255, and towards its close, A.D. 1280, the translation of the saint's body took place with solemn ceremonial, in the presence of Edward I., his queen, and children. The altar of the Virgin was set up against the east wall of the new building; but the shrine and altar of St. Hugh occupied the more prominent place in the mid-alley, behind the reredos, over which the feretory, containing the sacred body, towered conspicuously, so that to it not merely the gaze of the whole congregation but of the officiating priest himself, even as he stood before the high altar, might be constantly turned, and he might be led to pray for grace to emulate the piety, simplicity, laboriousness, and undaunted courage which characterized this pattern of a true Christian priest.

The reconstruction of the eastern arm of their Cathedrals afforded our English church-builders an opportunity for introducing the peculiar feature which, more than almost any other, distinguishes our ecclesiastical buildings from those of the Continent,—the rectangular east end, instead of the semi-circular apse or polygonal *chevet*, surrounded by radiating chapels, which is so universal on the other side of the Channel. We hardly possess materials for accurately determining the form of the eastern termination of our churches before the Conquest; but the evidence we have seems to indicate that the square end was that adopted by preference when the builders were at liberty to follow their own tastes, free from foreign influence.* The Normans naturally employed the arrangement familiar to them in the churches erected by them in the country

* The Eastern termination of the very ancient church in Dover Castle, assigned by Mr. Bloxam to the middle of the seventh century, is square. The still more ancient church of Brixworth,

of the fourth and fifth century, on the contrary, ended in an apse. But this evidently followed the plan of a Roman basilica.

of their new settlement; and as we have already mentioned, the semicircular apse, with or without a circumscribing aisle, is found in almost every instance. But even when Norman influence was predominant, the square east end was sometimes adopted. The most remarkable instance is the ancient Cathedral of Salisbury, completed by Bishop Osmund, A.D. 1091.* The Norman choirs of Hereford and St. Frideswide's, now Oxford Cathedral, also terminated rectangularly,† and the investigations of Prof. Willis at Ely in 1850‡ seem to have determined, that though the foundations of an apse were laid, the east end actually erected was square. But when the gradual welding of Saxons and Normans into one had created a new nation, determined to think and act for themselves, their independence of character was shown in the almost total abandonment of the apse, and the substitution of the flat east end, a termination so rarely met with in other countries.§ The reason sometimes assigned for this change, the transference of the bishop's throne, and the seats of his attendant presbyters—the *senatus episcopi*—from their primitive position in the apse to a distinct building—the chapter-house—seems of itself hardly sufficient to account for the almost

* This Cathedral, the foundations of which can still be traced in dry summers, was also remarkable for having an ante-church or Galilee of some length, at the west end. The transepts had double aisles, and were 150 ft. long: the whole church was 270 feet in length.

† At Hereford, beyond the square-ended choir, a group of three apsidal chapels seems to have projected eastwards.

‡ Prof. Willis's report is given in the Rev. D. J. Stewart's *Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (Van Voorst, 1868), ch. ii. pp. 24-30. "The interpretation of these remains appears on the whole to be that the original plan of the great Norman apse was circular, that it had no aisle round its eastern extremity, and that, before it was completed, it was resolved to convert it into a square-ended presbytery, such as we now see at Oxford Cathedral, and St. Cross. . . . The change of form was probably made because this square form better suited the quad-

ruple group of shrines" (of St. Etheldreda and her three relatives) "than the semicircular one would have done." The examples of square terminations of Norman churches already given may be increased by those of Bristol, Romsey, Byland, Buildwas, and, according to Prof. Willis, Archbishop Roger's choir at York.

§ Westminster is a glorious exception. But it is one that proves the rule. Exquisitely beautiful as the effect of the polygonal *chevet* with its surrounding chapels must have been felt to be, the independent English mind seems to have resented the introduction of a feature so peculiarly Continental, and not even the influence of the Crown and Court could procure its general adoption. We have another example of exquisite loveliness in the Lady Chapel of Lichfield, and in a modified form in that of Wells. Large apses are also found at Tewkesbury (polygonal Early English, with perpendicular radiating chapels), Pershore, and St. Michael's, Coventry.

total discontinuance of the apsidal arrangement in England. It seems more probable that it was rather a matter of taste and local prejudice. The designs of our Early English churches show that the architects very early became enamoured of the power the new arrangement gave them of grouping windows together, and raising them tier above tier, so as to occupy nearly the whole face of a great gable wall, and the square east end afforded them an opportunity for the display of the system of that union of separate parts, and harmonious grouping of all, which constitutes the peculiar charm and glory of our English Cathedrals. However much we may be inclined to regret the loss of the intricate beauty, the picturesque mysteriousness of the half-seen, and the play of light and shade belonging to the apsidal arrangement as carried out at Amiens, we can hardly quarrel with a change of design which has given us the noble east windows of Lincoln, Carlisle, and York, and even the later example of Gloucester—"that glorious wall of painted glass that closes the vista"—and the different but not less beautiful combination of a flat east wall and aisled chapels which charms the eye at Wells or Salisbury, Hereford or Winchester.

A few words may here be fitly introduced in reference to the new ritual arrangements rendered necessary by the eastward prolongation of the choir. When the new presbytery was thrown out, the position of the altar, as a rule, was not shifted, but it remained in its accustomed place, consecrated by the devotion of centuries.* To remedy its isolation, as well as to mark the distinction between the ritual choir and the presbytery beyond, an arcaded screen, or reredos,† of rich tabernacle work was usually erected immediately behind the high altar and in contact with its eastern face. These screens were commonly double, a second screen being erected to the east, at the distance usually of a single bay, the enclosed space serving as the "feretory" or chapel containing the "feretra," or portable shrines of the saints who were the objects of local devotion, together with their small appended altars. A door in the

* Westminster Abbey was an exception. The altar was moved westwards by Henry III. to afford more space for the chapel containing the Con-

fessor's shrine.

† Its English name was "The wall of the high altar." Willis, Canterbury, p. 103, note.

western screen on either side of the high altar gave access to this chapel. The most noteworthy examples of this arrangement now to be seen are those of Winchester, St. Alban's, and Westminster Abbey. In the two former instances the original intention of the arrangement has been to a great extent frustrated by the erection of a lofty and magnificent reredos, profusely decorated with canopied niches. Such a screen, however admirable in itself as a work of art, even now that its niches are denuded of their statues, must be regarded as an unwelcome intruder, from the abruptness with which it divides the Cathedral across its breadth, and the complete concealment not only of the shrines themselves, but also of the Lady Chapel and eastern aisles and all that lies beyond its lofty wall.* At Westminster the reredos has always been low enough for the Confessor's shrine to be seen over it. A similar arrangement with two screens exists, or did exist, at Canterbury, Chichester, York,† and Durham. At Durham the raised platform of the feretory of St. Cuthbert's shrine may still be seen extending into the great eastern transept or "Chapel of the Nine Altars," and was till lately enclosed by screen-work appropriate for its place, though debased in style, now unhappily removed, together with many other ancient landmarks, through a mistaken spirit of architectural purism. Behind the high reredos at Winchester, in the polygonal space corresponding to the Norman apse, a raised platform still exists that once sustained the shrine of St. Swithin, St. Birinus, and other sainted patrons of the Cathedral. At Lincoln, Llandaff, and elsewhere there was also a double screen; but the space between the two was narrow and served only as a vestry and treasury for the use of the officiating priests.

Another considerable change was not unfrequently contemporaneous with the prolongation of the constructional choir. This was the removal of the ritual choir from its primitive place beneath the lantern of the central tower into the eastern limb. The earliest instance of this transference is at Canter-

* A similar lofty screen, enriched with niches, exists at St. Alban's, St. Mary Overy's, Christchurch Tynham, Ottery St. Mary and Milton Abbas. That formerly existing at Peterborough, destroyed by the Puritans, was of the same type; "a stately skreen it was,

well wrought, painted, and gilt which rose up as high almost as the roof of the church."—Gunton, p. 334.

† At York the shrine of St. William probably stood in the feretory between the two screens.

bury, on the completion of the new choir, or at least so much of it as would suffice for the reception of the altar and stalls, Easter-day A.D. 1180.* The example set at Canterbury was probably speedily followed at Rochester; in so many things a miniature copy of the metropolitan church; and subsequently, at dates varying with the erection of the new eastern portions, at Lincoln, Wells, Carlisle, Exeter, old St. Paul's, Lichfield, Ripon, and York. Before the Reformation the ritual choir at Durham terminated with the eastern arch of the tower; and in the western arch there was another screen supporting the rood, with two doors, and the Jesus altar between them. We have no means of determining the age of this arrangement. In some other Cathedrals and Abbey Churches, as Winchester, Westminster, St. Alban's, Gloucester, Chichester, Norwich, Chester, and St. Cross, the change was never made, and the ritual choir keeps its old place, in some instances extending one or more bays into the nave; while in other cases, as at Worcester, Ely, Peterborough, and Hereford, the transference has taken place in comparatively recent times. The separation between the ritual choir and the nave was in all cases made by a solid screen effectually cutting off the ministrants in the choir from the worshippers westwards. These screens were often double, consisting of two solid stone walls enclosing a space, sometimes groined in stone, as at Lincoln, Exeter, Norwich, St. Alban's, and formerly at Chichester, and supporting the *pulpitum* for reading the Gospel and Epistles on certain occasions, and in later times the lofty rood or crucifix with the attendant figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John. Chapels were not unfrequently erected in the westward face of these screens; either one in the centre dedicated to the Holy Cross, with two side doors, as originally at Canterbury and now at St. Alban's; or two, one on either side of a central door, as St. David's, and formerly at Gloucester.†

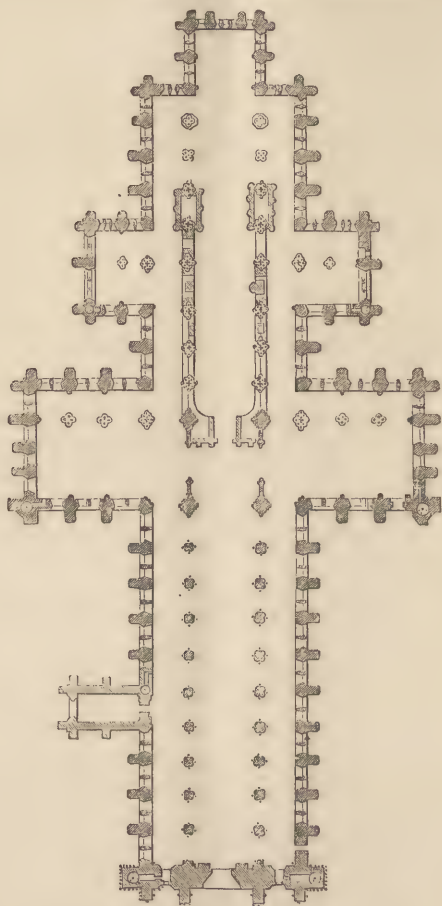
Having thus deduced the form and arrangements of our Cathedrals from the primitive model, and traced the origin and

* For Gervase's graphic account of this ceremony, see Willis's *Canterbury*, pp. 53, 55.

† The plans given in Browne Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals*, put us in pos-

session of many ancient arrangements of screens, stalls, &c., which have disappeared in the last century and a half, and will reward attentive study.

development of the various mutations to which they have been subjected, it will be interesting to compare the results at which we have arrived with those great churches, which in the thirteenth and subsequent centuries were either built on an entirely fresh site, or were altered with little reference to the ground-



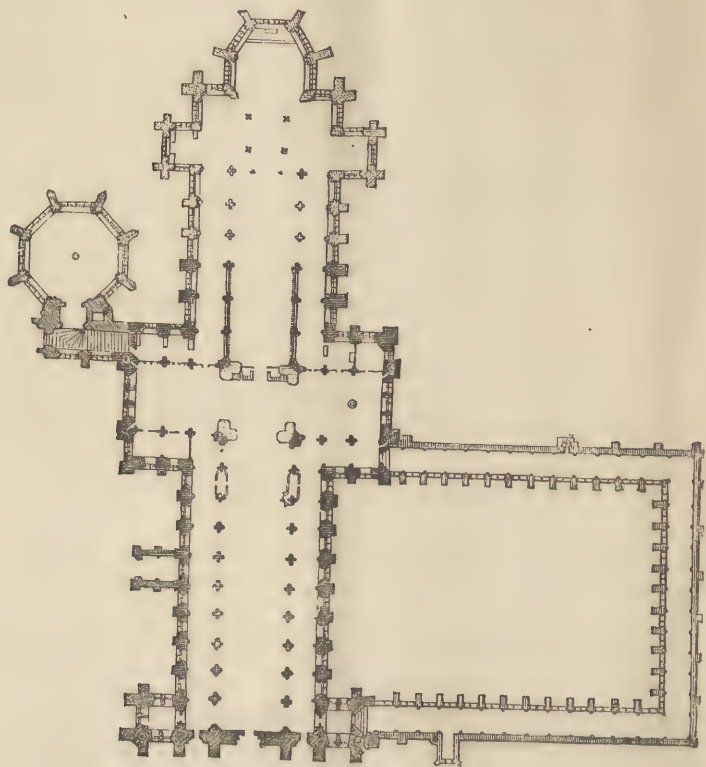
Plan of Salisbury Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

plan of the buildings which preceded them. In the Cathedral of Salisbury, begun A.D. 1220 and finished in all essential parts A.D. 1258, we are fortunate enough to possess a building raised on virgin soil in the early part of the thirteenth century, in the

erection of which the designer was completely untrammelled, so that we may regard it as a satisfactory evidence of what was then considered essential to the completeness of a Cathedral. A comparison of the ground-plan of Salisbury with that of Norwich or Peterborough exhibits the great modifications the Cathedral type had been subjected to, the course of which it has been the object of this paper to trace. In Salisbury there is no lingering trace of the apsidal form either in the main building or its appended chapels. Every eastern termination is strictly rectangular. The plan exhibits a well-developed double cross of harmonious proportions. The chief transept is of three projecting bays in each arm, the lesser transept of two; each with one aisle to the east forming chapels containing altars; ten in all. The constructional choir is of seven bays, including the opening of the lesser transept. Its eastern gable rests on three arches opening to the eastern aisles and Lady Chapel, between which originally stood the reredos, with the high altar in front of it. Immediately behind this a transverse aisle forms the procession path. Beyond this we have three eastern chapels, the lateral ones the continuation of the side aisles; that in the centre dedicated to "Our Lady," of three aisles, divided by Purbeck shafts of extreme tenuity, and projecting two bays beyond the side chapels. At the crossing rises a tower on four isolated piers, crowned with an exceedingly lofty and graceful spire. The nave is of ten bays; its length in admirable proportion with the other members of the building and the whole, and its outline most happily broken by a lofty north porch of considerable projection. The whole is an example of pure Early English, more free from later additions and alterations than is usual in English Cathedrals: exquisitely chaste, but not devoid of a certain "coldness and leanness" that renders it less satisfying than other inferior compositions.

In Wells, which, though one of the smallest, is not surpassed in beauty by any English Cathedral, we have a second example of the same Early Gothic style, though here we have later modifications both of plan and design, while Salisbury was built, as the French say, *d'un seul jet*. The proportions of the various members to one another is not so perfect as in the earlier Cathedral. The nave has the same number of bays, ten; but the transepts have only two bays in projection, and have double

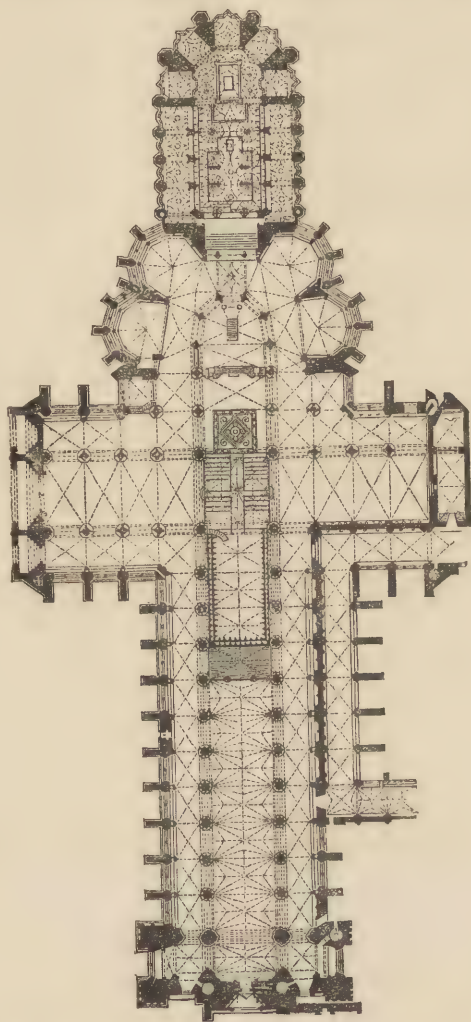
aisles. The choir of six bays ends square; the gable, as at Salisbury, supported on three arches, beyond which extend the narrow procession path, and perhaps the most exquisitely beautiful arrangement of chapels to be found in England. The Lady Chapel ends in a semioctagon, and there are chapels forming quasi transepts behind the choir. Two western towers, the



Plan of Wells Cathedral. Scale 100 ft to 1 in.

want of which is much felt at Salisbury, form a kind of transept, which gives breadth to the west front, which, though far from satisfactory in its outline, will always command admiration from the unrivalled series of sculptures with which it is decorated. The central tower, whose disproportioned weight has been nearly fatal to the fabric, is of stately outline.

The Abbey Church of Westminster, commenced A.D. 1245, and completed, as far as beyond the transepts, A.D. 1269, with all its complex beauty, in which it is exceeded by few Gothic



Plan of the Abbey Church at Westminster. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

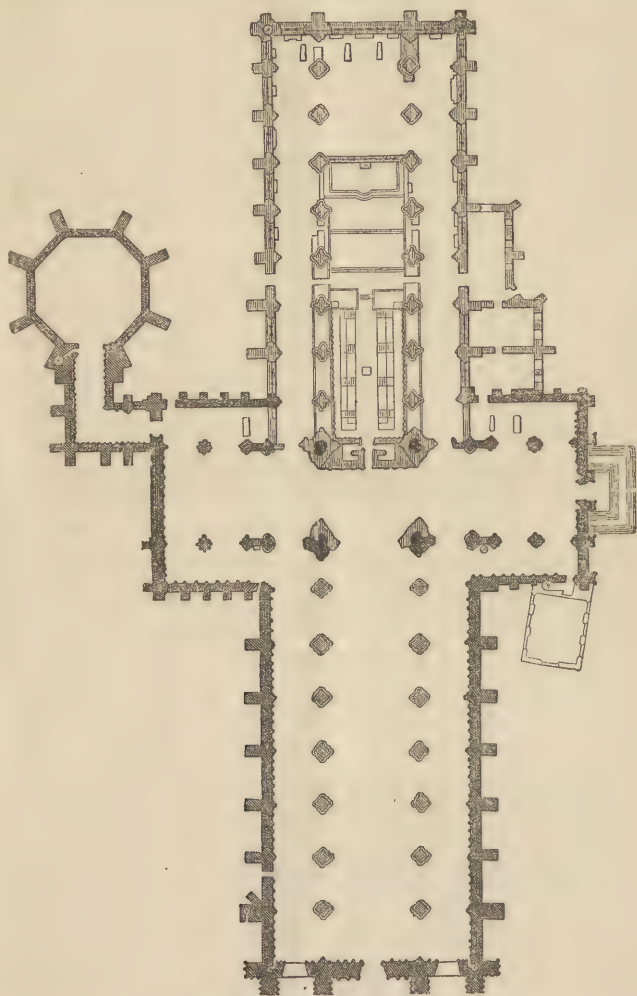
edifices, is too evidently an adaptation of Continental ideas to be regarded as a satisfactory type of an English church.

It is the only genuine example we possess in England of the *chevet*, with its radiating chapels, which are placed, two on each side, of a very uncommon plan.* The central apse has five sides; the constructional choir is short, having only three bays from the crossing; the transepts are of three bays in projection, and have double aisles; the nave, of twelve bays, including the western towers, is well proportioned in length, but in breadth it is rather inferior to the transepts; the deficiency, however, is hardly perceptible. There is no central tower; and if it be true that no tower was prepared for by the original designers, it possesses another point of correspondence with the great French Gothic churches, in which this feature is commonly wanting. The ratio between the breadth and height, which is 3 : 1, the average English churches being 2:36 : 1, and often descending as low as 2 : 1, is another French feature. Few, we think, will acquiesce in Mr. Fergusson's verdict that the height is in excess, and will rather wish that the proportion had been more commonly followed in English Cathedrals, the chief defect of which is the want of internal elevation.

The task proposed for this Essay is now all but completed. By the middle of the thirteenth century the English Cathedral type had experienced all its chief modifications in ground-plan and arrangement, and the later works only carried out the principles we have already seen in operation, as opportunity offered or necessity required. The measures of re-edification and alteration which we have noticed in connection with the eastern portions of our Cathedrals were gradually extended as the bounty of royal or episcopal benefactors, or the offerings of the faithful provided the necessary funds, to the less sacred divisions of the church; and transept and nave by degrees assumed the characteristics of the lighter and more beautiful styles into which the plain and massive Norman had blossomed out. At York, indeed, by a singular inversion of the usual order, the re-edification of the transepts preceded that of any other part of the Cathedral, and that of the nave came next, while

* The plan embraces four sides of an octagon with an angle, not a side, placed outermost. The area of the chapel occupies much more than half the polygon.

the choir, commonly the first portion to be rebuilt, was the last part to feel the influence of new architectural tastes and ritual exigencies. This singular fact is doubtless in great measure to



Plan of York Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

be accounted for by the large dimensions of Archbishop Roger's late Norman choir, which stretched eastwards 170 ft. from the crossing, and only wanted 80 ft. of the length of the present

magnificent eastern arm. The south transept was the first built, A.D. 1230–1241, and the north, famous for the group of “the Five Sisters,” so grand in their dignified simplicity, a few years later, A.D. 1241–1260.* The nave—a typical example of the then newly-invented Decorated style—a work of magnificent dimensions, and almost perfect in its several parts, but disappointing as a whole, a structure almost as conspicuous for its defects as its excellencies, was spread over nearly thirty years, A.D. 1291–1321. The west front—the most elaborately ornamented and the best proportioned in England—succeeded, a few years later, A.D. 1338, but had to wait more than a century for the completion of the towers which crown it. The central lantern, which was evidently never finished, the design requiring angular pinnacles, was about fifty years earlier in construction, about A.D. 1405. The Lady Chapel and Presbytery, which with the choir constitute the most truly magnificent of all English Cathedral east ends, was commenced A.D. 1361 in Early Perpendicular, and completed about A.D. 1400. The splendid window, without doubt the grandest in general effect in England, though surpassed in gracefulness of tracery by its western sister, as well as by the still larger and finer Decorated east window of Carlisle, is, with the exception of that of Gloucester, the first in point of dimensions, 78 ft. high by 33 wide, and retains the stained glass with which it was originally filled, a glorious wall of transparent colour, on which the eye rests with admiration and delight.

Passing from the north to the extreme south-west, the small but singularly graceful Cathedral of Exeter demands our attention, as, with the exception of the anomalous transepts formed out of Norman towers, a specimen of the purest Early Decorated unmixed with any other style. Commenced at the extreme east end by Bishop Quivil, A.D. 1280, it was carried on continuously westward by succeeding prelates, and finished by Bishop Grandison, A.D. 1369. Small in dimensions, and deficient in height and, from the want of a central tower, in external unity, no Cathedral deserves more commendation for the extreme beauty and variety of its window-tracery, entirely of the geometrical type of Decorated, the varied loveliness

* These dates given by Willis are little more than approximative.

of its details, and the exquisite proportion of all its internal members. The long stretch of the vaulted roof, unbroken by tower arches, has few rivals for the combination of dignity and grace. Lichfield, in its faultless group of three spires and lovely eastern apse, c. A.D. 1300, presents another delightful work of the same period, of which the nave, diminutive but of exquisite design, recalling the matchless "angel choir" at Lincoln, is an earlier specimen, if it may not be more truly styled Early English, c. A.D. 1250.* Chester, which, in the early age of the English Church, contested with Lichfield the possession of the See of the great Mercian Bishoprick, has in its Cathedral nave—now happily rising from a state of almost inconceivable forlornness and decay, and receiving the vaulting it has been so long almost hopelessly waiting for—a plain but well-proportioned specimen of Decorated architecture, of which we see a truly magnificent example in the sorely-mutilated south transept, almost equal in dimensions to the nave, and of the earlier developments of the same exquisite style in the choir, the eastern portion of which was built to receive the shrine of St. Werburgh. The Decorated nave of the other great Mercian See of Worcester, an effective and dignified composition that has hardly obtained the notice it deserves, presents the remarkable singularity of having its two sides of different dates: the northern bays being the earlier. The central tower is of the same period, and ranks as one of the stateliest in England. We must not omit to mention the reconstruction of the choir and transepts of the Abbey Church of St. Augustine's, Bristol, now the Cathedral, under the auspices of Abbot Knowle, A.D. 1306–1322, and his immediate successors, calling attention to the singularity of the design, which sacrifices both triforium and clerestory to the increased elevation of the side aisles, and the ingenious but not very pleasing constructive devices by which the vaulting of all these divisions has been placed at the same height. The vast Decorated choir of old St. Paul's unhappily perished in the Great Fire of 1666. But we perceive, from Hollar's Views, that it must have been one of

* The "singular parallelism between the gradual architectural changes in the Cathedrals of Lichfield and York has been pointed out by Prof. Willis, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xviii. p. 20.

the grandest and most magnificent works of the best period of English architectural art, probably surpassing all other Cathedrals in England in beauty of design and richness of decoration as it did in the magnitude of its proportions. The choir and presbytery which, according to the common usage, had been erected to receive the miraculous shrine of the sainted Bishop Erkenwald, A.D. 1310, stretched in undiminished height and breadth to the unusual length of twelve bays. The vaulted vista, 690 ft. from the west door, closed with a glorious rose window surmounting ranges of arched lights rich in tracery. The same age of exuberant fertility gave us the octagon of Ely, A.D. 1323—"perhaps the most beautiful and original design to be found in the whole range of Gothic architecture"*—embodying an idea capable in skilful hands of the happiest development, but destined to lie dormant until revived by the genius of Wren in his classical reproduction of the Cathedral of St. Paul's.†

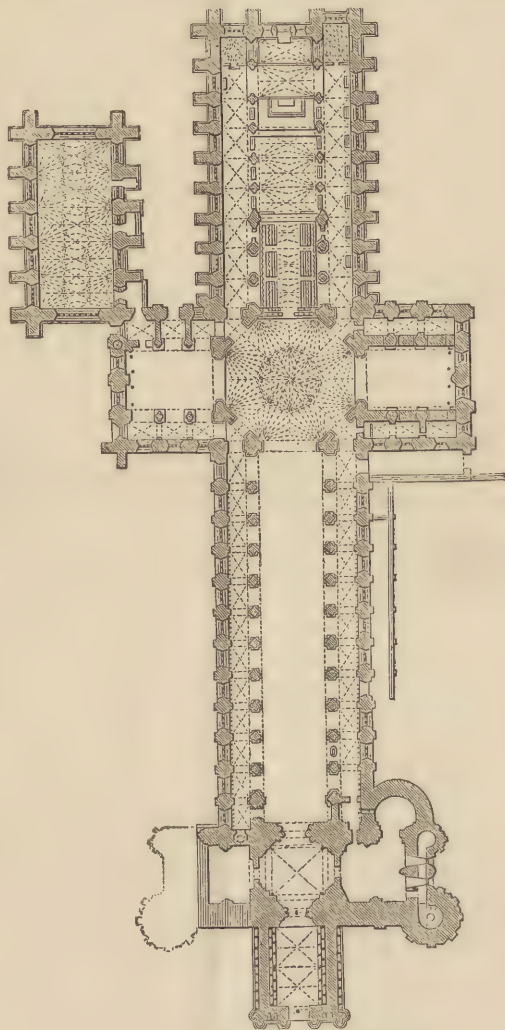
It is not given to anything human to continue in one stay; and when the climax of excellence is reached, the descent, though those who are engaged in it may fancy they are still advancing, is usually swift and certain. The introduction of the Perpendicular style, notwithstanding its great practical worth and the scope it afforded for gorgeousness of detail, marks the decay of English architecture; and its employment in our Cathedrals is in most instances to be regarded with regret. Not that we must allow the demerits of this style—as a means of producing the greatest possible effect with the least possible intellectual effort—to blind us to its real excellencies, or lead us to depreciate the truly magnificent structures erected during its sway. The Cathedrals in which the Perpendicular style has had the largest play are those of York, Gloucester, Winchester, and Canterbury. Of the former I have already spoken at length. The works at Gloucester and Winchester were adaptations of the newly invented style to

* Fergusson, Handbook, vol. i. p. 869.

† The great merit of this design is, that by cutting off the angles of the central square of the crossing, the architect obtains a considerably ex-

tended space in the most important part of the edifice; and by employing eight arches instead of the usual four, brings the side aisles into immediate connection with the main area of the building.

previously existing Norman buildings. In the former, A.D. 1329-1377, a network of panelling and tracery was merely drawn over the plain round arched work of the pier and tri-



Plan of Ely Cathedral. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

forium range, on which a lofty clerestory was erected, and an intricate lierne vault stretched over the whole, producing a

gorgeous but confused result. The Perpendicular re-edification of the nave, commenced by Abbot Morwent, was most happily cut short by his death, A.D. 1137, when his ill-designed alterations had effected no more than the destruction of the western towers, and the ruin of two Norman bays. At Winchester, A.D. 1194-1410, the superior architectural genius of William of Wykeham, without destroying the pillars and walls of Walkelyn's church, by the bold but simple expedient of the removal of the triforium range, and throwing that and the aisle below into one, and partly re-chiselling partly re-casing the rude piers and mouldings, transformed the stern Norman nave into a glorious specimen of the style which seems to have sprung at once, at his touch, into the highest perfection of which it was capable. At Canterbury no such transformation was attempted. Perhaps the nave was in too ruinous a state to render it safe. The old nave of Lanfranc was taken down and the whole entirely rebuilt on the former foundations, in a light Perpendicular, wanting in the vigour of Winchester, but full of dignity and beauty.* The only Cathedral entirely due to Perpendicular architects is that of Manchester, founded A.D. 1422. This, however, is in all essentials a mere parish church of large dimensions, and does not call for remark.

The other works of the Perpendicular period in our Cathedrals are not of a nature to call for lengthened notice. The most important of them was the rebuilding of the clerestory and vaults of Norwich, after the destruction caused by the fall of the spire A.D. 1463. This work stretched over half a century,

* In the naves both of Winchester and Canterbury it will be observed that the triforium has been completely lost as a distinct member of the architectural elevation, as it was also in the earlier example of the choir and presbytery of York, and the still earlier work of the nave. In all these instances the place formerly given to the triforium is occupied by a prolongation downwards of the mullions and compartments of the clerestory windows (of which we have earlier examples at St. David's and Southwell), the elevation being thus divided into two instead of three parts. In truth the triforium, as a distinct architectural

member of a bay, belongs by right to the Norman style, which derived it from the early Roman basilicas, as at St. Agnes, and St. Laurence, and the Quattro Coronati, and passing by inheritance to the Early English style, was gradually disused by the Decorated architects, except when, as at Ely, they had to adapt the levels of their work to an already existing design, and dropped altogether in the Perpendicular period. The insignificance of the triforium in the purely Decorated Cathedral of Exeter shows how subordinate was its place in the mind of the designer.

and is singularly graceful in design and elaborate in ornament. One evil work perpetrated by the Perpendicular architects, of which almost every English cathedral and large church exhibits lamentable instances, was the erection of enormous windows at the western and other gable ends for the reception of stained glass. The new design involved in all cases the destruction of features of much interest and often of great beauty, and is seldom of sufficient merit to atone for the mischief it has caused. We may refer for examples to the west windows of Norwich, Lincoln, Rochester, Chester, St. Alban's, Southwell, and Tewkesbury. In every case we have to deplore the merciless way in which the vast trellised openings have been cut through the ancient front by the builders of the day without the smallest consideration for the work of architects so greatly their superiors in true taste and creative power. It would be mere waste of time and space to speak at any length of the minor works executed in our Cathedrals during this period of rapid production, but real decadence of art. The multitude of windows and doors, buttresses and pinnacles, shrines and chapels, screens and stall-work, altar and canopied tombs, and other less conspicuous features added during the fifteenth century is incalculable. But these additions were not such as to affect the arrangements of a Cathedral in any sensible degree, and may therefore without scruple be passed over without further mention.

Neither is it needful that I should dwell on the vicissitudes through which our Cathedrals passed during the next two centuries. While the Reformation reduced to ruins many of the noblest monuments of the architectural skill and piety of our forefathers, equalling and in some cases surpassing the glorious churches that still remain to us, and necessitated very considerable changes in the ritual arrangements of those that it spared, in correspondence with the alterations in the services celebrated within their walls, and involved a vast amount of destruction of minor architectural works—shrines, altars, tabernacles, and the like—under the title, often too well merited, of “monuments of superstition”—over which the archæologist and the lover of architecture must vainly sigh, coupled with a degree of irreverent desecration only too natural in the violent rebound of the national mind from an overweighted faith, it left the fabrics themselves and their chief arrangements on the whole undis-

turbed. Nor were any new features introduced. It was an age of demolition, not of construction. As the storm of the Reformation left them after its first outburst, such our Cathedrals remained during the turbulent period of religious change, and such, in the main, have they continued down to our own days. The ravages committed by the Puritan troops on the magnificent buildings over which they had undisturbed mastery during the civil troubles of the seventeenth century were, happily, chiefly confined to furniture and monuments, together with cloisters, chapter-houses, and other adjuncts, and seldom—Lichfield being a notable exception—had any seriously detrimental effect on the structures themselves; while the unspeakable brutalities and foulnesses with which in the name of religion, they polluted the temples hallowed by the worship of centuries, were such as the pious care of their rightful guardians could efface the stain of, though they could not blot out the shame of their memory.

The last century was one of religious apathy in our Cathedrals as everywhere else. The clumsy botchings perpetrated when any attempt at repair or restoration was made, and the utter ignorance of the true principles of Cathedral architecture they displayed,* excite a feeling of gratitude that so little was done by Deans and Chapters beyond keeping the walls and roofs in repair, and the fabric wind- and water-tight. And let it be said to their praise, this duty, no mean and unimportant one, was usually performed with commendable fidelity: so that the present century, on the whole, inherited the Cathedrals of which they were the guardians in a very fair state of preservation: often dreary, neglected, comfortless, and showing little of the beauty of holiness, but solid and sound. Nor when the fervour of restoration was first awakened was it always wisely directed. It was too often "a zeal not according to knowledge," the results of which we now vainly deplore. On the works of "Wyatt the destructive," at Lichfield, Salisbury, Durham, and, above all, at Hereford, I cannot now enter. Towers demolished, chapels pulled down, monuments divorced from the dead they commemo-

* The works of Essex deserve to be excepted from the above sweeping condemnation. What was done by him at Ely and Lincoln and elsewhere, shows

an acquaintance with the principles of Gothic architecture, and a knowledge of its details, far in advance of his day.

morate, screens torn down, decayed stone-work pared away to a clean surface, ornaments renewed in stucco, painted glass removed from the windows and shot as rubbish into the town ditch—these are some of the indications of the fatal march of this great “Cathedral restorer.” Much of the duty which has fallen upon our own generation has been to endeavour at great cost and pains to undo some of his evil work—a task not always possible in the execution: so much, alas! has perished irreparably.

The restorations of our own days, designed with so much ability and carried out with so much zeal and such unsparing munificence, display not only a far more correct knowledge of the details of mediæval architecture, and a truer appreciation of the principles which guided it, but also, which is of far greater importance, a sense of the purposes for which a Cathedral exists, and the objects it may be made to serve. The reproach is rapidly passing away from the Church of England, that she has inherited buildings too vast for her shrunken form, erected for another form of devotion, and which she knows not how to use. With whatever justice such a charge could have once been brought against her, it is no longer one that can be urged with any truth. On every side we see fresh evidences that she duly appreciates the worth of the inheritance she possesses in her Cathedrals, and is resolved to avail herself of them to the full. The increased facilities offered for the reception of numerous congregations in the choirs of our larger Cathedrals, too vast to be treated as a whole;—the removal of high, close screens in those of more moderate dimensions, and the substitution of screens of light open-work, which, while preserving the distinction between the choir and the nave, the place of the ministers and the place of the laity, has practically thrown the two into one for purposes of worship;—the naves themselves, no longer regarded as the mere vestibules to the choirs, and left in stately emptiness, but employed for their primitive use as places for preaching *ad populum*, for the gathering of large evening congregations, and for the periodical assemblage of the church choirs of the diocese;—the transepts, chapter-houses, libraries, and other annexed buildings, serving as the meeting-places of sacred synods, diocesan conferences, and gatherings for promoting and carrying forward the work of the Church in the

diocese;—and even the side chapels, so long left in dreary uselessness, beginning to be recognized as the possible sacred centres of the various religious organizations so rapidly rising in our Cathedral cities—deaconesses, sisterhoods, nursing institutions, young men's associations, guilds, and the like, where, in strict subordination to the Dean and other Cathedral authorities, they might periodically meet, and go forth to their common work strengthened and refreshed by the sense of their brotherhood in Christ;—other chapels used for the periodical delivery of theological lectures;—the opportunities for worship no longer restricted to the ordinary Matins and Evensong, but embracing early celebrations of the Holy Communion;—bright, popular evening services with hymn-singing, and short morning services on week-days to hallow the first hours of a day of business or labour;—the great religious and social difficulties of the day treated by master-minds, united with the hallowing influences of prayer and praise beneath the spreading dome of her Cathedral in the midst of the teeming thousands of London;—the additional encouragement given to the long-lost habit of private devotion in our Cathedrals;—the growing impatience at the desecration of these houses of prayer and holy praise by the so-called Musical Festival, and the steps taken towards the revival of the "Oratorio" in the sense which its name indicates, and its author designed,* as the handmaid of prayer and the kindler of devotion:—all these are so many cheering evidences of healthy life auguring a prolonged existence of vigorous work, and indicate a sphere of usefulness so enlarged, and so adapted to the needs of a Diocese, that it may be truly said that if we had not Cathedrals it would be necessary to found them. Each year as it passes manifests with increasing power that Deans and Chapters are fully awake to the fact that Cathedrals have as true and as necessary a place in the Church system of the nineteenth century as in that of the thirteenth, and that they are resolved that the Cathedral shall once more become the religious centre of the Diocese, the warm heart throbbing with religious life, and diffusing strength, hope, and vitality to every parish within it, as well as the sacred home whose doors are ever open to receive all her children who may desire to come

* St. Philip Neri, at Rome, about A.D. 1585.

and worship within her walls, and join in the services of prayer and praise which have gone up thence unceasingly year after year and century after century, with all the stateliness and magnificence that dignified ceremonial, and music in its highest form and its most skilful execution can produce. A new and glorious future is now opening before our Cathedrals. May all their rulers and guardians have wisdom to perceive their opportunities and avail themselves of them before it is too late! Then will our Cathedrals be seen to be the sources and channels of advantages so great to the Church and religion of England that the mouth of the enemy will be stopped, and the hand of the spoiler stayed, and the voice will go up through the length and breadth of our land, "Destroy them not, for a blessing is in them."

EDMUND VENABLES.

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The Common Sense of Art.

A LECTURE

DELIVERED IN BEHALF OF

THE ARCHITECTURAL MUSEUM,

AT THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM,

DECEMBER 8, 1858.

By A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1858.

The following Lecture was delivered as the first of the Annual Course for 1858-9 provided by the Architectural Museum, in the Lecture Theatre of the South Kensington Museum. It was delivered *vivâ voce*, and is reprinted with some corrections and short explanatory additions from a verbatim report. A few notes are added, containing further explanations of certain passages. The Author begs to say that he is personally responsible for the opinions contained in the Lecture. The Architectural Museum was founded for the promotion mainly of Mediæval Art. In speaking, therefore, on behalf of that school of art, the Lecturer felt himself fulfilling the wishes of those on whose invitation he came forward, not less than doing justice to his own convictions. Further than that, he is speaking solely in his own person.

THE COMMON SENSE OF ART.

HAVING by the kindness of the Council of this Museum been called upon to inaugurate its course of lectures for the present season, and having been allowed to make my own choice of a subject, I have looked over the various phases in which Art presents itself to men's minds. I find the phase of what may be called the Prose of art handled with great ability and at considerable length in all sorts of technical and scientific treatises. I also find not a few treatises on what may be called the Poetry of art, in which it is dealt with in a manner more or less poetical and imaginative. But there is one phase of art which I have never heard of, at least under that name; and yet it is something that seems to be superior to prose, and even to poetry. It is the phase of that which the French proverb says is not so common—the Common Sense of Art. You will, I hope, allow me to disclaim, when I use this phrase, any idea of bringing to bear upon the subject any particular common sense of my own; but I trust I shall be able, as it were, to play around it, and to give you some idea of what I hold to be common sense, the Common Sense of Art. If I were to define common sense, I should say that it stands in an ascending ratio somewhere above poetry. Prose, we

are told, is the best language in which we can describe any particular thing ; and poetry is the best language in the best places. Common sense, I should say, was the best poetry dealing with the best subjects. It is, in short, as much above poetry as poetry is above prose.

But you may ask me how it is that, this being an Architectural Museum, I should call upon you to consider, not the common sense of architecture merely, but the common sense of art? My answer is this :—Architecture, whether or not it be an art that involves and includes all others, is at all events an art that busies itself, that is concerned, with all and every other. Painting stands by itself : so does sculpture. Painting requires no assistance from sculpture ; neither does it from architecture. Sculpture requires nothing either from painting or architecture. Architecture, though it has an existence of its own, and although the doctrine that it is merely a machinery to convey ornamentation is, I am convinced, a heresy—Architecture, I say, though it has a position of its own, is yet intimately blended with all other arts ; and that is the reason why I would go a little further, and deal with the common sense of all art ; but I shall at the same time consider all art in reference to architecture.

In laying down, then, some canons of architectural common sense, what first principle shall we start from ? I believe we shall most safely start from the broadest ground, from the enunciation ; which I venture here to make, of the principle that whatever variety of forms there may be, whatever may be the different

conditions under which it exists, whatever may be the merits or demerits of the styles of different lands, all architecture implicitly is one—its object is one, and the means by which that object is sought to be attained are also one, however imperfectly they may be realized. For what is architecture? It is the struggle of the human intellect to assimilate that great physical want of man, the want which he feels for covering—covering for his daily life, covering for his public duties, covering for his religious observances—to that great archetypal idea of beauty which exists everywhere in the human mind. (1.) * This is the first object of architecture itself, architecture pure and simple, the architecture of construction. But next after this architecture of construction, and following hard upon its heels, comes the ornamentation of that construction; and this ornamentation no longer directly refers itself to the archetypal idea. Indirectly no doubt it does so, but in the first instance it busies itself with the glorified reproduction of the visible things of nature—of crystallized organizations; of the forms of vegetable and animal existence; and above all, with the reproduction of that prime and noblest type of beauty vouchsafed to our sight, the human form. Accordingly, when we consider the various relations of such ornamentation to painting and sculpture, we must acknowledge that architecture concerns itself, through them, with all art, and that it therefore ought to be considered in connection with all art.

Now, having laid this premise down—having realized to ourselves that architecture is the study

* The numbers refer to the explanatory notes at the end of the Lecture.

of the archetype, and the attempt to reproduce it, where can we best begin our progress? Where can we—art-pilgrims as we are in this England of 1858—where can we take our first start on that voyage after the ideal?—where, to make use of a beautiful mediæval myth, may we look for the Temple of the San Graal, the imagined queen and pattern of all building, the great embodiment hallowed by religion of the architectural ideal? (2.) Where can we find a clue to the path which leads up the thorny mountain pass to that green vale, and that

“ Windless and crystalline pool,
Where ever dwells on unerasing waves
The image of a temple built above,
Distinct with column, arch, and architrave,
And palm-like capital, and over wrought,
And populous most with living imagery,
Praxitelean shapes, whose marble smiles
Fill the hush'd air with everlasting love.
It is deserted now, but once it bore
Thy name, Prometheus!” (3.)

Prometheus, in learned tongue, means the man of forethought, the man of common sense. Taking then Prometheus, that is common sense, as our guide, where shall we, Englishmen of this waning age, seek the clue which will lead us to that temple of the ideal? I say that for us, being Englishmen, being Teutons, being Europeans, being members of the great civilized and Christian fraternity of nations, there is a very strong antecedent probability that we shall find our starting point in some style of architecture, if style there be, that is English, that is Teuton, that is European, that is civilized, that is Christian,—that draws its own distinctive name from those young

fresh tribes of the North, whose baptism of blood gave second birth to the exhausted peoples. (4.) There is, I say, a strong antecedent probability that in such a style we shall best find our starting point. I might, I believe, produce arguments that would convert that strong antecedent probability into certainty ; but time would fail me, and therefore I shall proceed with the discussion on this assumption of strong probability alone. This I do the more readily, being on the present occasion the mouthpiece of an institution existing mainly to teach that architecture which I now venture to uphold. I shall deal with the point as if it were settled. It may be that art is speeding to its fall ; it may be that it is rising to a noble future : but in either case our task of seeking the ideal is the same. If the world is still in the fresh morning of its youth, then let us toil, and hope to leave to our successors the bright and life-sustaining noon-day ; but if the world is verging to its even-tide, let us anticipate a gorgeous sundown.

Well, then, with these premises derived from this antecedent probability, where, I repeat, shall we find the stand-point for our architecture of the future ? Again, what sort of architecture shall it be ? Shall it be one that is progressive, or one that is stationary ? Upon this head I shall have to submit to you two considerations. The first is positive—it ought to be progressive ; the second is negative—it cannot be stationary. I deal first with the positive proposition that it ought to be progressive ; and that point I will not argue, because it has been reiterated hundreds and thousands of times and in every form. In every

lecture, in every journal, and in every book, that doctrine is enforced by arguments drawn from the progress of the world, from scientific discoveries, from literary achievements—drawn from the fact that architecture and all art in every age have always been progressive, whether in a right or a wrong direction. Here I will stop, and leave you to fill up the outline of this portion of my subject for yourselves; but I must submit a few observations with regard to the second or negative proposition, namely, that architecture cannot be stationary. Here I again revert to the restricted view of the question on which alone I have time to dwell, the one which affects our own country. I shall not do more than remind you that in every age, and under every condition of things, England has had her own peculiar phase of architecture. I have already assumed that our art of the future ought to be founded upon Gothic. Granting this, then, and assuming also that our Gothic of the future must be stationary, then it follows that it must stand somewhere, for standing somewhere is the grammatical meaning of the term stationary. But where shall it stand? We know that there is a Gothic of England, a Gothic of France, a Gothic of the Low Countries, a Gothic of Germany, a Gothic of Italy, a Gothic of Spain; and we know likewise that all these Gothics had an early and a late phase, and most of them a middle or intermediate one. Where then, I repeat, shall we make our standing point? I presume that each country, if we are to have a stationary art, must make its stand within its own circumscription; and

the English standing point must therefore be somewhere in the Gothic of England. Mind, I am arguing now on the stationary view of the matter; and from that point of view it will be obvious that there can neither be advancement nor retrogression; for advancement and retrogression are equally contradictory to the idea of stationariness. Gothic, after many centuries of glory, was dragged before an unjust tribunal, and men fancied it dead; but it has come to life again. If, however, it has come to life again, it must have done so with all its age upon it. It must be like the statue-queen Hermione, who, when she returned to her husband, bore the years and the sorrows of her concealment upon her brow. So must it be with architecture if it is to be stationary. There can be in it no advancement, neither can there be retrogression, though it may have deteriorated during the period of its exile. Thus, by a logic which I defy any one to contradict, stationary Gothic can be nothing in England but the late corrupted Tudor of Henry the Eighth; and it can be nothing in France but the Flamboyant of the House of Valois.

No one, I am sure, however antiquarian he may be, will be anxious to accept such a proposition. However pedantically he may make himself master of some one style, and however accurately he may carry out that one style in all its details, he will choose for himself some style of antecedent date; but if he does that, what has become of his stationary Gothic? Of his own free will, by his own private judgment, he has elected some date antecedent to the disappearance of Gothic; and so, in short, he has

become not stationary, but eclectic. There is, therefore, no such thing as a stationary school of Gothic—every school must be eclectic. There must, I say, be progress; and progress must select where it can, in order to make its progress sure.

The only theory of architecture then which responds to that common sense which we have set up as our supreme tribunal—the only style of common sense architecture for the future of England, must be Gothic architecture, cultivated in the spirit of progression founded upon eclecticism.

But here our difficulties only begin. The next question is, what are we to elect? that is, what are we to choose out? for it is no good to talk of selecting unless we have some field to gather from. Here again we have to ask, where shall we make our starting point? and how far shall our foraging process extend? No doubt we shall elect in the first instance from our own land. It may be in the recollection of many of you that some fifteen or twenty years ago a warm controversy raged as to the best starting point for that which was then our only dream, the development and perfecting of our English Gothic. There was a strong party in favour of the First style; there was another party, also very strong, in favour of the Middle style; and there were a few outsiders in favour of Norman and of Perpendicular. The war continued for some time; but at last, rightly or wrongly I do not say, for I guard myself from being supposed to speak of my own personal predilections—at last, I say, the victory declared itself to be on the side of the Middle or Decorated

style, as the golden mean of English Gothic. And the decision seemed to be a wise one; for it fixed upon the highest point, the crown of the bridge, from which we could look backwards and forwards—from which we could survey all surrounding landscape. For some time we rejoiced over so easy and pleasant a decision of the question. It got rid of all the difficulty, and it certainly flattered our insular pride. We were the best men in the world—nobody was like us—nothing like our style. But this insular pride could not long endure. Knocks were heard at our door from many quarters. We found out, and we soon began to realize from the very bottom of our soul, that there was after all such a thing as foreign Gothic—that it was a noble and a multiform thing, and one that had many claims upon our admiration. First came the Gothic of France—free France, with its unrivalled churches, and its enthusiastic band of young art-writers headed by the intrepid and noble-hearted Montalembert. These buildings and these writers not only arrested our attention and commanded our respect, but they went far to convert many of us from our admiration of the Middle style to one for that sterner and more severe Gothic which is the idol of French writers; a feeling which has recently received a fresh impulse from the competition for the cathedral at Lille. Hard upon this entry of French architecture a voice reached our shores from Germany. The completion of Cologne Cathedral, the rebuilding of St. Nicholas at Ham-burgh, and the art movement at Munich—all tended to enforce the claims of Germany on our attention.

Scarcely had those claims and those of the Low Countries begun to be investigated, when English artists discovered that both their predecessors and they themselves must hitherto have been blind; for in Italy, and in the very States of Rome itself, there existed another Gothic very different from their own, but yet possessing its own peculiar graces. Those graces impressed themselves upon our tourists with irresistible force, and the feeling was perhaps heightened by a sense of the wrong which had previously been done to that style. (5.) We may thus look upon Italy as being likewise able to furnish its contribution to our future style.

From these observations it will be easy to collect what is the present attitude of the Gothic party in England. There is, first, a strong feeling in favour of the Middle style, and then another party, much smaller indeed, but still numbering amongst it very able supporters, whose preference is for the Early style. Next come the persons, be they many or be they few, who have plighted their first allegiance to the schools either of France or of Italy. How then are we to act? Is any English style by itself sufficient for all our needs? Assuredly not. Is French by itself sufficient? I will not say it is. Is Italian Gothic? Certainly not. Are all these, Early and Middle English, French and Italian, collectively sufficient for our wants? Not even so. We must have something more broad and comprehensive even than this for our starting point. We must have peace, but peace in this case can only be gained by comprehensiveness. In our early days, when

we admired English exclusively, we, as it were, mounted Snowdon. We got up to the top of our land only to be struck with its insignificance. Now we are ascending Mont Blanc; but I would go on till we have scaled the world's highest peak, and planted our standard on the summit of Mount Everest. For where can we pause? Where can we become too comprehensive? To be truly eclectic, we must be universally eclectic—we must elect from everything that has been collected; and we must assimilate and fuse everything that we elect, for without such fusion the process remains after all only one of distributive collection. We must bring together, and mutually accommodate, not merely Early and Middle English, but Gothic architecture of every age and every clime. The pure English school was very logical in choosing the Middle style of English architecture. We must do the same thing on a larger scale, and bring together for ourselves some new middle style out of universal Gothic architecture. And even then we may be only storing up materials for our successors. Ours is only an eclecticism of the past, and there may be—I imagine there will be—an eclecticism of the future. With the progress of manufactures, and the development of natural products, both yielding to us out of the earth materials of singular richness of colour and great durability, what new sources of beauty may not be discovered? Even now we seem to be literally realizing the ancient prophecy that “for stones” we shall have “iron;” and increased resources for ornamentation, in the shape of new vegetable and mineral productions from every

land, are day by day laid at our feet. This must in time revolutionize all architecture; but I believe it will be a peaceful, and not a destructive revolution. I believe that all changes of this kind will not supplant, but supplement the good tradition of the old time; and, therefore, I feel that in our eclecticism of the past we are in no danger of running counter to, but we shall rather aid, the eclecticism of the future. For myself, at present, I will only endeavour to grapple with the eclecticism of the past, and thus contribute one stone to the coming structure.

Here, then, to hark back to first principles, we have to perform this task—we have to progress through eclecticism; we have to elect out of the art of the past; we have to select out of the Gothic of our ancestors; and to do this we must select everywhere, from Italy, from France, from the early and middle days of England. But are we to stop here? Is there nothing else from which to select and assimilate?

I am going to make an assertion which will perhaps seem to contradict a great deal that has been stated in art writings of great authority, at least in these latter days. But I should be sorry to stop even at the point I have hitherto indicated. There is much that we can select from in the later Gothic, both of England and the Continent. I know it is very easy, because it is very true, to talk about the germs of corruption that manifested themselves even in the later phases of the Middle epoch. It is still more easy, because still more true, to dwell upon the corruptions and distortions of French

and German Flamboyant, and English Perpendicular. But true and easy as such assertions are, it is an easiness which shuts its eye to one side of the case; it is in short a truth which is after all but a half-truth. Distorted and corrupt as the latest style no doubt is, it nevertheless includes vestiges of life, which may be destined under happier auspices to burst forth into a new and a glorious existence.

If there is one axiom more undeniable than another—I am not now attempting to contrast the respective merits of the two principles, but simply venturing a naked statement of fact—it is this: that Classical architecture is horizontal, Gothic architecture is vertical; Classical is the architecture of super-position, Gothic of germination and continuity. Taking, then, germination and continuity as the norm of Gothic, let us enter an Early English building, possibly one of the period when the style had just emancipated itself from Norman—or let us, instead, enter an Early French cathedral—and what do we see? Pillars surrounded by shafts, and capitals with very broad *abaci* (which in French buildings are actually square); we see likewise arch mouldings very different in their section from the shafts over which they are placed; we see horizontal string courses tracing deep horizontal lines of shadow; we see square lintels; we see low-browed pediments to the niches; we likewise see windows and triforia disposed in horizontal strips. The circular window, with wheel-shaped tracery, is also very common. Outside we shall behold spires growing out of towers with strong horizontal base-strings, and pyramidal turrets at the corners; we

shall see all these features, and many more besides, all strongly flavoured with the horizontal principle. (6.) We shall see, in short, that Early Gothic is strongly impregnated with that horizontality which it inherited from Norman, which Norman in its turn received from earlier Romanesque, which Romanesque drew straight from Roman, and Roman received in free gift from Ephesus and Athens.

Again, in Italian Gothic these same peculiar features are found, and the heavy cornice moreover predominates. I do not in these criticisms necessarily imply any blame. There is, in fact, great massiveness and beauty of effect in this horizontality. Every architect deals with it more or less, and it comes out in every phase of Gothic art. So, too, with regard to the second style. The manner in which tracery is put in windows, and the geometrical forms which it there assumes, and which, you know, has actually given the name of "geometrical" to the earlier phase of that style, in some respects rather resembles super-position than continuity.

Now, then, let us change the scene. Let us take a Flamboyant building. Here we shall see a great deal of poverty, a great deal of scrambling ornament, a great deal of vulgarity; but with all that poverty and vulgarity we shall also see real continuity. Even in that feature which has provoked the censure of every critic who ever entered Antwerp Cathedral, the column-mouldings carried up into the arch without the intervention of a capital, and vaulting shafts running up from the floor to the centre of the groined ceiling, we perceive the

principle of continuity consistently acted upon. So, too, in secular buildings, we shall find in Flamboyant the same principle; for the windows ascend in vertical strips instead of standing side by side in horizontal lines, as in the earlier style. There, too, gables abound as they did not in earlier days. I cannot, it is true, give in my adhesion to the doctrine of those who would dryly divide all Gothic into discontinuous and continuous; for, like many other rough attempts at generalization, this fails from being too rough. But it is, nevertheless, a fact that the theory of continuity finds its complete consummation in Flamboyant alone. It is, indeed, remarkable enough, that an essential principle of Gothic construction should thus have been perfected in a style which possessed the other characteristics of Gothic in so inferior a degree.

To come to the Perpendicular of England, we there find two different principles at work. The essential construction of the style exhibits the same continuity as Flamboyant, but this construction is overlaid by a remarkable ornamentation peculiar to that style, and having little in common with Gothic—an ornamentation formed by the intersection of lines placed at right angles, and forming a series of parallelograms adjoining each other. This must, I think, have been the invention of some one individual architect. Twelve years ago there came out, in a periodical, a suggestion in an article on Gothic architecture, which was anonymous, but of which I was myself the author, that this principle, though merely one of ornamentation in Perpendicular, might shadow forth

a new and positive style of which the constructive characteristic should be intersecting lines disposed in parallelograms. That idea in its strictest development was four years afterwards realized in a great public building—Sir Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace. (7.) Perpendicular is in reality Flamboyant with an ornamentation, which you will find carried out to its utmost development in the Crystal Palace. But we must not in our future Gothic too rudely reject the suggestions of Flamboyant and Perpendicular. In looking at one of the great Flamboyant cathedrals of France, one is reminded of the German legend of the giant whose body was so weak that it might be overset by a child, but who was gifted with a shadow so awful in its might that it overturned troops of men, and threw down the trees on which it happened to fall. Or to take another illustration: it reminds me of a tale I once found in a foolish railway story-book, in which, however, there was a great deal of imagination. It was the tale of an artist who fell in love with a very ugly woman, within whose countenance he was enabled, by the force of his scientific perceptions, to detect the lineaments of an inner beauty which she ought to have had, but which she did not happen to possess.

But I believe that much more may be expected from a style which I must ever protest has not had justice done to it—I mean the later phase of English Middle Pointed, so familiar to the student of Rickman under the name of Flowing Decorated. That style, indeed, carried its death-warrant with it from the very first. In spite of its gracefulness, the hectic flush

was always upon it; but still it claims our admiration for the momentary and incomplete glimpse it gives of a richness and a beauty which have never yet been attained in any phase of architecture.

These, then, are some of the arguments, relying on which I dare challenge for the later styles of English and Continental architecture that they shall contribute to our future eclectic art. I shall perhaps be met—justly met—with the objection, that the Early Gothic of England, particularly in the days before it had quite emancipated itself from Romanesque, and that even more so the Early French Gothic, are pre-eminently masculine. I feel the truth of this remark; and I little envy the soul of that man who does not feel himself moved when he stands beneath the stern male choir of Shoreham or of Canterbury. The style is indeed overpowering—it is indeed masculine. But when we give it the praise of being masculine, do we give it all praise? Are there no graces which by Divine ordinance are attributable to the other half of created nature? Shall art, which should be the mirror of all nature, fail to shadow out half creation? To have shadowed out half may have been a great thing for past art to have achieved; but shall we, who are the disciples of common sense—we, who advocate progress by eclecticism, be ever contented with half measures? Shall we not scorn any thing less than the whole? We must avoid luxuriousness; but let us at the same time take care that we do not fall into stiffness and singularity. We may admire the semi-circle, and nobody does admire it more than I do; we may admire still more the

purity of the lancet arch ; but let us remember that in created nature lancets and semi-circles are rare. For one lancet or semi-circle in nature you will find a multitude of that extremely beautiful form, the ogee. Honour, then, I say, to the unknown artist—honour to the man who in the golden years of architecture enlisted the ogee into the service of his glorious art ! His successors may have toyed and dallied with their darling until they made it the symbol of weakness and luxury ; but in its due subordination, such as we find it in the later of the two archways at Bury St. Edmund's, there is no one who will not feel that the introduction of the ogee was a splendid contribution to the resources of architecture ; and I need not remind you that it is only found in the later styles.

Thus I hope I have given you some reasons why in our architecture of the future we must take up the early and the middle period of English and French Gothic ; and, while we do so, not neglect the later styles. But we must also have recourse to the mediæval architecture of Italy. We know that the progress of modern discovery has yielded to us the serpentine of Cornwall, the red and grey granites of Scotland, and the tiles, of many a rainbow hue, produced in Staffordshire. Our lessons in surface colour ornamentation, thus rendered necessary, must be principally learned in Italy. (8.) So again, the system of our street architecture often demands cornices, where our ancestors would have used gables ; and the laws of the cornice must likewise be studied in Italy. Upon these considerations, therefore, I should

say that the Gothic of Italy must also yield its share to the eclectic style of the future. (9.)

If we hold fast these principles—if we give to our architecture of the future the distinct characteristics of each past style—if we make it as masculine as Early French where we wish it to be manly, if we make it as feminine as Decorated English where we wish to give it the graces of the gentler sex, what boundless variety would it not offer to the imagination! We may wish a building to have somewhat of the rough aspect in its basement which the classic artists obtained by the use of what they call “rustication;” then let us make the lower story in an early style, and those above continuous. Or we may wish to give the architectural effect of a cornice without the practical objections existing against it, and then our lower stories may be continuous, and they may be crowned by a story of horizontal arcading of an early style. Again, our windows, instead of being arranged in horizontal groups, might assume the vertical-strip form of later days; but still there would be the deep cutting, the light and shadow, of earlier times, instead of the flimsy mullions of the succeeding styles. Sometimes the windows would have mullions, sometimes pillars, but everything would be exactly where it was wanted. I do not even see why those windows which are curvilinear in their plan, such as we find in Henry the Seventh’s Chapel, should not be occasionally pressed into the service. (10.) But here you may ask, where do you mean to stop, what will you not absorb? I answer, I will stop where common sense tells me to stop. When I can no

longer assimilate I will cease to absorb : I will absorb nothing which common sense forbids, but I will go on till common sense interposes a check. I will absorb and assimilate everything on which common sense has not laid its ban ; I would even rifle the treasure houses of Classic art, and carry off the spoil of Renaissant. There were great men in Greece and Rome, and in the times of the Renaissance, and they built brave buildings ; and I do not see why the true-hearted architect of the future should withhold his hand from any advantage that he might make his own out of the palaces of Rome, of Athens, and of Florence. (11.)

So much for Architecture. I have not left myself much time to deal with the other arts ; but as I have presumed to address you upon the Common Sense of Art generally, I will add a very few remarks upon Painting and Sculpture.

However much we may admire any particular phase of pictorial and sculpturesque art, we must acknowledge that the broad distinction between what in architecture is called Classical and Gothic does not exist in them. (12.) There are painters and sculptors, no doubt, whose Christian temper delights us, and there are others likewise whose Pagan sentiment repels ; but there is not that thorough distinction between the two schools which we find in architecture. In painting, then (not to mention sculpture), common sense teaches us that eclecticism may more easily be compassed—that there are fewer surface difficulties in making good its claims than we find in the sister, or rather the mother art of architecture. Honour to those

ardent souls who rebelled against the trite conventionality of academic rules, who wished to strike out new paths for themselves, who looked at the purity and freshness of nature, and threw themselves back upon the old tradition of a more simple time! But I cannot honour the study of rudeness for rudeness's own sake. I cannot look with any satisfaction at the idea of rejecting the study of antecedent and eminent artists simply on the ground that they were academical. To do that, is really to deal as much in the exclusiveness of academicism as the very academicians against whom the innovators protest. I will go with them in repudiating with disgust the trite imitation in painting and in sculpture of academic models, because the beauty of such models is of the vulgar and inferior sort; but let me remind you that the true protest against such vulgar and inferior beauty is not the literal reproduction of vulgar and inferior ugliness, but the raising of the standard of ideal beauty. No doubt our second and third rate painters have long been very negligent in their outlines—no doubt atmospheric effects have been distorted by mere canvas coverers; but the same Creator who made the mountains and the fields, made also the air and the mist; and He never intended that everything far and near should be seen with the same clear, sharp outline. He never intended that the followers of truth should reject

“ The light which half conceals
The shapes which it reveals.”

Everything need not be seen under a hot noonday sun; every leaf and flower, however distant, need

not be drawn with the same exact, hard distinctness as it scarcely appears even to the most clear-sighted. Things ought to be shown as they appear to the majority of the world, including those who are unfortunately, like myself, more or less short-sighted. We must not be led astray by new school doctrines any more than by old ones. There is a common sense in all things. If we are called upon to represent a scene in mythological or still more in Scriptural history, we must try not to be too natural, not to be vulgar. We must try to be ideal; for depend upon it, in representing these things ideally there is a more real reality—one which is far better than any mere copying of models. For example: if an artist is called upon to represent some touching episode of the Old Covenant, some deeply pathetic scene in the history of the chosen people, I should certainly not counsel him to choose his models from among the loathsome denizens of a modern Ghetto.

So much for the ideal of art. If, however, you want to represent real life, be real. Imitate what you see, but ennoble what you imitate. Imitate in every detail; for you have many great masters who will teach you how to do it. You have artists who are most literal not only in their mass, but in their least minutiae; and yet are broad in their general effect, and noble through their very truthfulness: such was, to quote one who is great amongst the greatest names, although hardly known in this country in his grandest style, Van der Helst. On the other hand, you will find men who are literal enough in their general grouping, while they cleverly caricature actual life,

yet are slovenly in their details, and vulgar in their tone, like our Hogarth (13), a man whom, with his undoubted talent in his own line, I should never set up as the model of a school. Such imitation as his was not the way of our fathers in art; such was not the doctrine of Phidias; no, nor of the men who filled the niches of Chartres and of Wells; such ideas never entered the imagination of Fra Angelico and Memling; such principles would have been repudiated by that great reviver in England of ideal art, the ever-to-be-honoured Flaxman. But in whatever outbursts of eccentricity the new school may indulge—and I believe that their outbursts are nothing more than eccentricities—these are probably to be reckoned, and to be condoned, as the results of a youthful sense of power, of sportfully essaying how far the principles they espouse may be carried.

I still honour the spirit which gave birth to the movement, and I amply recognise the evidence it gives of revived originality. There is now in our painting and in our sculpture a principle of reality such as we have never known before. It indicates an amendment; so does our architecture. How long that march may last I cannot tell. In all I have said I have dealt with my subject matter as if the prospect of perfection were certain in this nether world; but we know that such anticipations are in reality most uncertain. We know that the brightest flowers are the first to fade. We know that the noblest aspirations are oftenest nipped into despair or soured into cynicism. But it is not for us to toil and labour on in any such hopeless spirit; for the ruin of

a cause is most readily and rapidly brought about by the disheartening of those who are its own champions, and its success is best attained by the courageous, the cheerful, and earnest spirit of those who seek to further it. Let us therefore resume our search after the true ideal, our search after common sense, as if every man in this assembly felt the issue depended upon his own exertions; and we shall then be rewarded by the feeling of satisfaction at duty done in our own minds, whatever the material issue may be. For it is certain that when we are convinced of a truth, to toil and labour, to suffer, and even, if it needs be, to die for it, is the common sense not only of art, but of all human life.

NOTES.

(1.) It may be urged in reply to this statement that the first object of architecture is to assimilate this covering not to any ideal, but to the more utilitarian end of its being sufficient for its object in durability and imperviousness. But I hold that this objection answers itself, as ideal beauty involves not only the gratification of the eye by the exhibition of the perfection of form, but the gratification of the understanding through that perfection of form likewise fulfilling to perfection the practical object for which it is created.

(2.) The part which the "San Graal," or "Holy Grail" (the cup used at the Last Supper), plays in Arthurian Romance, is well known. In the German imagination of the fourteenth century, the tradition assumed an architectural form, in the metrical romance of *Titurel*, supposed to be written by one Albert of Scharffenberg. The poet there minutely describes a superb circular temple or church, miraculously built by King *Titurel*, to contain the Graal, in terms which leave no doubt that he gave rein to his imagination of a Gothic cathedral immeasurably glorified. Its circular form, and the details given of the order of religious knights, the *Templists* (married, by the way, and hereditary), who were supposed to watch over the Graal, show that Albert modelled his conception on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and the Round Churches built in imitation of it by the Knights Templars in Europe. The circular Lady Chapel at Trèves, the first great Gothic production of Germany, also seems to me to have been present to his mind. The shrine of the Graal of course occupies in his temple the position of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Those who wish for further information on this subject will find it in an essay by M. Sulpice Boisseree, published in the Transactions of the Munich Academy for 1855, and in two papers by M. Van den Berghe, in M. Didron's *Annales Archéologiques* for 1857.

(3.) The reader can hardly fail to notice that although, considering Shelley's school and age, it is highly improbable that he thought of any but a classical temple, yet that these lines, talking of "arch" and "palm-like capital," are far more applicable to a Gothic structure.

(4.) The strong claims of France to have perfected Pointed architecture do not militate against the attribute which I have set up of its being Teuton, as the portions of France in which it first showed itself were the Frankish royal dominions (*Ile de France*), the half Flemish Picardy, and the Germanized Burgundy, not the Celtic Brittany, or the Romance Provence.

(5.) My father's posthumous History of Architecture, and Professor Willis's work, both published in 1835, were, strictly speaking, the books which first pressed the existence of the Italian Gothic upon the English mind. The seed thus sown did not, however, fairly sprout up for about ten years. In the interim occurred the heyday of the pure English school.

(6.) The disposition of nookshafts, internally and externally, in this style, evinces a strong horizontal feeling; so, to take a special example, do the wheel-like flying-buttresses at Chartres.

(7.) Ecclesiologist, June, 1846 — "The Ecclesiologist in reply to Mr. E. A. Freeman." The reader will permit me to quote a few sentences from this article, resuming my argument on the peculiarity of Perpendicular:—

"A new style all at once prevailed, of which the leading characteristic was the universal prevalence of vertical lines.

"The elaborate tracery of other days gave place to series of vertical monials, more or less numerous, running continuously, or nearly so, from the bottom to the very summit of the windows, sometimes branching off in the head, but if so, either including some other order of vertical monials, or else, at the most, one or two quatrefoils or sexfoils, inserted without any apparent reason, and in utter want of keeping with the rest of the window—these vertical monials being always tied together in the head, either by a series of flat foliated arches having the appearance of horizontal lines, or else by a transom, of which the lower part is scooped into a series of foliated arches between the monials, while the upper line continues horizontal, such transoms fre-

quently occurring in the lower part of large windows at graduated distances. The whole effect of one of these windows, especially of the larger sort, taken separately, is that of a piece of panel-work,—an area arbitrarily cut out of an infinite plane of panels: they are not self-contained. We perceive that the windows are no longer treated as separate important members of the building; that even if externally they put on this independent appearance, yet internally that they are no more than members (that is, we own, in the more elaborate and therefore more complete specimens of this style) of an infinite series of points; that in short there being windows at all is an accident—that they might be wholly or partially walled-up, and the building would not be less true to its type. We study the nave arches, and we find even these, in some of the more completely developed emanations, of the ‘Perpendicular’ spirit, — St. George’s and Henry the Seventh’s chapels, for instance,—so completely subordinated to the panelling as to be very small in actual dimensions, very secondary in general effect. We assert that the panelling in question—though it never became constructional, and though the Pointed arch was still retained, albeit of a depressed shape and oftentimes of very scant dimensions—is yet the ‘differential’ of the new style; that it was the germ of a revolutionary element, which continued ever gaining more and more strength, and would at last, speaking theoretically—had not revived Pagan swept Tudor-panel and four-centred arch away together—have predominated, and at length developed Perpendicular architecture into a new species of architecture utterly foreign to Pointed. Whether, in point of fact, it ever would have abandoned the manifold uses of the arch is another question.

“This, however, only proves its worthlessness: it proves that it was an invention behind the wants and capacities of its age, and one therefore that never could be legitimately developed; anyhow it would have probably dropped the pointed form of arch.

“This new architecture promised to resemble Grecian in its employment of straight lines. It would have been, like that, an architecture of posts and beams: but different from it, in that Grecian sought effect by grandeur of mass and appalling bulk, by rearing the lofty column, and supporting the menacing entablature upon the massy shaft; while ‘Perpendicular’ would

have aspired after the richness arising from the multiplicity of parts, would have made its posts numerous, and its beams small, and so produced an easy but gaudy system of surface decoration.

"In short, we believe 'Perpendicular,' so far as it was developed, to have been, like Roman, a chaotic and impossible combination of the two opposite principles of the arch and the entablature; the difference being that, while in Roman the new principle was cloaked in the construction, and the ancient ornamentation was desperately pushed forward, in 'Perpendicular' the new element obtruded itself everywhere as the *causa formalis* of beauty, and only partially (as in the windows) assumed a constructional value. As a proof of the truth of our remarks we will beg our readers to consider a bay of St. George's and of Henry the Seventh's chapels. First, let them suppose the depressed arches of the arcade to become segmental. Then the pointed element would disappear, except from the clerestory, from which also it might however be eliminated by a similar process.

"Would, however, the buildings suffer any very great alteration in their general aspect? Very few, we suppose, would think so. But suppose still further (constructional impossibility not being for argument's sake considered) that these arches were altogether removed, and the flat lines of the large containing panels alone retained, would the general aspect of the buildings be changed? We cannot of course but think that there would be a considerable change; but we assert that it would be one which would not utterly alter the general aspect of the buildings—one certainly which would not at all tend to make their panelled character misplaced and unnatural."

In this article I trace, as I have not attempted in the Lecture, the gradual growth of continuity in Gothic, in answer to my friend and antagonist, Mr. E. A. Freeman, who argued for the absolute division of Gothic into discontinuous and continuous. As not unfrequently happens among controversialists, we were probably much nearer each other's opinions than the position we took up enabled us to see. I find that I also argued at that time for eclecticism in the style of the future.

(8.) Marbles of great beauty have been discovered in New South Wales. A friend has kindly sent me some specimens of

them. Therefore, the future architecture of the antipodes ought in its own behalf to incorporate those lessons in the use of polychromatic material which Italy affords.

(9.) I should, of course, wish to see each country maintaining, for the present at least, its antecedent "differentia" (the result in each case no doubt of the climate, &c.) as the dominant character of its future style. Thus the future English Gothic would retain the characteristics of the English Gothic of earlier days, modified by that of France, Italy, &c. On the other hand future Italian Gothic ought to start from the Gothic of mediæval Italy, while borrowing modifications from France, Germany, England, &c. It was in this spirit that the committee for building the Memorial Church at Constantinople stipulated that the competitors should conform their designs to the spirit of Southern Gothic. A Northern, still more an English Gothic church in Constantinople would obviously have been a startling eccentricity. An age in which national distinctions could be wholly abrogated must be very different from anything which we are able to imagine.

(10.) I ought to have alluded to the Perpendicular wood carving shown in screens, roofs, &c., as possessing marked excellence, and therefore as deserving peculiar study.

(11.) I hardly need say that, as my Lecture is merely intended to be suggestive, I should equally include Byzantine and Saracenic, and indeed all architecture, among those out of which the architect of the future ought to assimilate his materials. To Byzantine in particular he is primarily indebted for the cupola, a feature which he must make his own.

(12.) A seeming distinction exists in the pattern of the dress, or no dress, which the painter or sculptor bestows on his figures. But I think I shall have the suffrages of men of common sense in general in treating this distinction as one merely on the surface. The expression of the worst feelings of the most corrupted days of Pagan art may appear in features peering out of the wimple; while, on the other hand, the purity of many of Flaxman's undraped females cannot be exceeded. I here pronounce no abstract opinion on the question of the nude in art; I merely wish to remove that question out of those which are in direct dispute between the Classic and Gothic schools.

(13.) Van der Helst is chiefly known in England as a painter of single portraits ; but those who desire to appreciate his powers should study his great picture at Amsterdam, the 'Schutters Mahlyd.' In this work the various full-length figures, all portraits, are grouped with consummate ability, while the accessories, each by itself most minutely finished, are all subordinated to the general effect.—Hogarth was a great humorist: he had the sense of the ridiculous. He was not a great artist; for he wanted that balance of all merits which makes up common sense.

From the Author.

A MEMOIR

OF THE

CHURCH AND MONASTERY

OF

THE AUSTIN FRIARS,

IN THE

CITY OF LONDON.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., ETC.

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OF the various Religious Houses, numerous and magnificent as they were, which once adorned the City of London and the immediate vicinity of its walls, very few traces yet remain, and those are to be sought for by the sagacious eyes of the archæologist and the architect, rather than force themselves on the notice of the uninstructed observer. The great calamity of the 17th century availed to remove the last memorials of many of these structures, although the absence of them is almost equally marked in those quarters of the city to which the ravages of the Fire did not extend. The Priory and Hospital of St. Mary Spital, for example; the Priory of the Crutched (or Crossed) Friars, near the Tower; Eastminster, near Tower Hill; the Priory of Holy Trinity, by Aldgate; the House of the Black Friars, by Ludgate; and that of the Carmelites, in Fleet Street,—have alike passed away without leaving a vestige of their former glories, and are unremembered, save in the pages of our old chroniclers, and in those MS. records which are the fountains of our historical and legal literature. While of the House of the Grey Friars, by Ludgate, only a few arches can be noticed among the modern buildings of Christ's Hospital; of the Priory of St. Helen, some fragments, apparently of the crypt, are occasionally found in the neighbourhood that still retains its name; and of that of St. Bartholomew, but a few old walls and sculptured stones may be observed, amid the labyrinth of lanes and tenements that constitute Bartholomew Close and Cloth Fair. Even of the churches belonging to these communities four alone are left,—St. Bartholomew-the-Great, St. Helen, Austin Friars, and the Temple.

The history of one of these—and many architects would not quarrel with me, I think, if I called it the most imposing of the four,—so far as I can trace it from legal records and early chronicles, as well as from the yet visible features of the scene, is a history well worthy of a serious ear.

No eye could have followed from point to point the picturesque outline of mediæval London, without being arrested by a building to which I desire to draw attention. It lay nearly in the centre of the main group of edifices, and was evidently the house of a large and wealthy establishment. It was possessed of an exquisite adornment, which shall presently be treated of in detail; and its lofty church and wide-spreading walls were conspicuous, with the frowning inclosure of the city in their immediate rear. The ground on which it stood was of many acres in extent, with frontages to the streets on several sides. The entrance was by a south gate to the west porch. It was the magnificent House of the Friars Hermits of the Order of St. Augustine, and one of the first in England for position and importance. It had a long and interesting history, and was also reserved for a wondrous destiny, now all but forgotten, and to be sought for, not so much among the cautious statements of the moderns, as in ancient monuments, the description of eye-witnesses, and the veritable declarations of our national records. A portion of the old walls themselves, with a few windows in them of extraordinary beauty, was all that the spoilers allowed to remain, and to attest the excellence of that which they destroyed. And there, happily, they continue still—spared by the Great Fire, and thus alone remembered by most—in the centre of and overlooked by numberless offices, and in the midst of one of our busiest mercantile quarters. The details of active commercial life are daily being transacted where once was the chosen seat of monastic learning and religious privacy; and letters are brought from and addressed to localities whose names are to the writers as household words, which were beyond the limits even of the very imaginary maps that stood in the library of the good fathers who here found a sacred home. Hardly can any more wondrous and curious instance be found, I presume, than that of the London church and monastery of the

Augustinians, the site of which, although now devoted to so widely different purposes, still breathes of the use to which it was anciently consecrated, and yet bears the designation so pleasantly smacking of olden usages, of "Austin Friars."

It was so long ago as the year 1253 that the good Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, founded this house, "to the honour of God, and His blessed Mother, ever virgin, and for the health of the souls of himself, his ancestors, and descendants." Another Humphrey Bohun, the grandson (?) of the former, and the successor in his title of Earl of Hereford and Essex, built the structure, a fragment of which still remains, about the year 1354, just a century subsequent to the first foundation. The domestic buildings were no doubt of great excellence, but the special glory was the conventual church. This edifice had all the magnificence of a cathedral. It consisted of a nave, yet remaining, of 153 feet in length, by 83 in breadth, with ample transept and choir. Some of the characteristics of the Decorated style can here be observed in their peculiar beauty, the windows of the north and south aisles having heads filled with flowing tracery, while that over the west door exhibits (although, I fear, it is but a restoration) the geometrical arrangement which no doubt characterised the original. If we may judge from the part yet visible, with a description of which I will conclude, the chief House of the Austin Friars was indeed worthy of the society to which it belonged. But it was richly gifted in the possession of another and peculiar source of an interest almost unearthly. Beneath the pavement of the vast church, which every here and there still exhibits, in the empty sockets of monumental brasses, the use to which it was formerly dedicated, there was as noble a fellowship of death as can well be imagined. I find by recent examination that there are now visible thirty-six slabs, one of which contains the socket of a full-sized brass, apparently of a priest, though the figure is almost obliterated; one, of a small figure under a very beautiful fourteenth-century canopy with a bordering inscription; seventeen, each of one or more small figures, mostly of laymen, without canopies, but with bordering inscriptions; one, of a cross; and sixteen, each of one or more

shields, with small inscriptions at the foot. Besides these, there is a very fine incised slab, with a fourteenth-century foliated cross and obliterated inscription. These slabs do not retain their original position, but have been used as paving-stones, and placed where they were needed among modern memorials of the dead. The sexton assures me that several others were visible about fourteen years ago, but were then covered, and now lie concealed under a floor of boards which occupies a large portion of the nave. This enumeration, although necessarily imperfect, will give us some idea of the number and variety of the earlier adornments of this most interesting place. The Society was greatly revered, and the consignment of the body for interment within its precinct was a common occurrence alike among the nobles of the realm and the citizens of the surrounding metropolis, hardly less powerful and worshipful than they. I have transcribed from the Harl. MS. 6,033, ff. 31, 31 b, 32, and from No. 544 of the same collection, the long list of those who are recorded as lying interred within these venerated walls.

“ The Bodyes buried in the ffryers Augustyn of London,
founded by the Earle of Herford.

In the Quyre.

Ffirst, Edmund, first sonne of Joan mother of King Richard the second.

It'm, in the wall lyeth Sir Gwydon de Meyrick, Earle of St. Paules.

Dame Ida, wife of Sir Thomas West.

Dame Margaret West, without a stone.

It'm, Nicholas.

Stephen Hindercke, esq. [Hynndemole, MS. Harl. 544].

In the middest lyeth Sir Humfrey Bohun Erle of Herford & Essex, lord of Penbroke [Breknoke, Harl. 544].

It'm, the lord Richard, great Earle of Arundell, Surrey, & Warren.

It'm, S^r Edward Arundell and Dame Elisabeth his wife.

Vnder the Lampe lyeth S^r Ffrauncis Courtney & the Earle of Penbroke, w^{ch} maryed Alyce sister of therle of Oxenford.

In the middest lyeth Dame Lucye, Countes of Kent, [& one of ye heires of Barnbe Lord of Millayns, wth an epitaphe.

Edward, D. of Buckyngham.

Gwiscard, Erle of Huntynghdon. Harl. 544.

Dame Lucie Knoles, of Kent. Harl. 544.]

S^r Peter Graynsers [Greynfirs, Harl. 544.] Knight of Ffraunce, and with him lyeth his sonne Sir Thomas.

It'm, the lord [John, Harl. 544] Vere Earle of Oxenford.

It'm, Aubred, sonne and heire of therle of Oxenford.

S^r Thomas Tudenham, knight.

S^r Wiltm Bowrser, lord Warren. [Fitzwaren, Harl. 544.]

S^r Thomas de la Land, knight.

It'm, with John Vere lyeth his wife Dame Elisabeth.

Dame Joan Norrys.

It'm the ladye Bedford.

Anne, daughter of John Vicount Welles.

In the walking place by the Quire.

Ffirst, Walter Maynell, esq.

It'm, S^r John Manners, knight.

In St. Thomas Chappell.

In the syde Chappell lyeth the wife of S^r Davye Cradock, knight.

It'm, mother of the Lord Spencer, wife of S^r Bartholmew Badelsmer. [Baddlegate, Harl. 544.]

In St. Johns Chappell.

Ffirst, John, sonne of S^r John Wingfeild.

It'm, the Lord Anglure of Ffraunce.

It'm, by him the Lord Tremeyll [Tremayne, Harl. 544] of Ffraunce.

Itm, S^r Water Mewes.

It'm, Robert Mewenton, esq.

In the Chapter House.

First, Phillipp Spencer, sonne of S^r Hugh.
 Dame Isabell, daughter of S^r Hugh.

In the bodye of the Churche.

Dame Julyan, wife of S^r Richard Lacye [Lucie, Harl. 544].
 S^r Thomas Courtney, sonne of the Earle of Devon, and by
 him lyeth his sister, weddid to Cheuerston.
 It'm, the daughter of the Lord Beaumont.
 Two sonnes of S^r Thomas Morley, viz. Wiffm and Raphe.
 S^r Wiffm Talmache, knight.
 Nicholas Blondell, esq.
 Richard Chamblayn, esq.
 It'm, John Halton, esq.
 S^r John Gyfford, knight.
 It'm, Thomas Maningham, esq.
 It'm, S^r Wiffm Kenod, knight.
 S^r Wiffm, sonne of S^r Thomas Tyrrell.
 It'm, John Surrell, gent.

In the East winge of the Churche.

First, Margaret Barantyn, gent.
 John Spicer, esq. and Lettice his wife.
 It'm, Margaret Sparcy, gent.
 It'm, Dame Julyan Alberton.
 It'm, John le Perceres, esq.
 Thomas Wygmore, esq.
 Roger Chybury, esq.
 Peter Morowes, esq.
 Thomas, sonne of S^r Wiffm Berland.
 James Chitting, esq.
 John Chornott, esq.
 Wiffm Kenley, esq.
 Thomas West, esq.
 Margery, wife of Thomas Bande, and daughter of John Howche.
 It'm, between St. James aulter and St. Mary lyeth the Lord
 Wiffm, Marques of Barkley and Earle of Nottingham, and dame
 Joane his wife.

In the west winge of the Church.

First, Sr John Tyrrell and Dame Katherin his wife.

Sr Walter Attepoole, knight.

Sr John Blankwell and his wife.

Dame Jane [Sayne, Harl. 544], daughter of Sr John Lee.

At her head lyeth John Dawbeny, sonne and heir of Sr Gyles.

Joan, wife of Richard Aylisburys.

Wifm, sonne of Sr Roger Scroope.

Dame Joan Dawbeny, wife of Sr Wifm Dawbeny.

Thomas Charles, esq.

It'm, Sr John Dawbeny, knight, & by him his sonne Robert.

Sr James Boell, knight.

It'm, Sr Oliuer Mawney, knight.

Henry Deskay, esq.

[Sir Diones Mordaske, knight, Harl. 544].

By him Sr Barnard Rolingcourt.

Sr Peter Kayer, knight.

Sr Wifm Tyrrell, brother of the other Sr Wifm [and Ser William his brothar, Harl. 544].

Wifm Collingbourne, esq.

Roger Clifford, knight.

[Sir Thomas Coke, drapar, maior.

William Edward, grocer, maior, 1471.

Some have Ser Philipe Coke, knight, Harl. 544].*

Sir Robert Sheffield, knt., 1518.

Sir James Tirell, Sir John Windany, knts., 1502. Sir John Dawtrie, knt., 1519. Dame Margaret Rede, 1510.

Of the William, Marquis of Berkeley, mentioned above as interred in the "East winge," Dugdale says that he left the society 100*l.* in money, to say two masses henceforth for ever at the altar of our Lady and St. James, where the body of his second wife lay buried. This lady was daughter of Sir Thomas Strangways, kt, and widow of Sir William Willoughby, kt. She died on St. Matthias's Day, in the first year of King Richard III. A.D. 1484.†

* MS. Harl. 6033, ff. 31, 31 b, 32. MS. Harl. 544, ff. 66, al. 76, 68 b., al. 78 b.

† Dugdale, Baronage, vol. i. p. 365.

Besides those already mentioned as being interred in the church, there must not be forgotten several members of the family of Scot of Stapleford Tawney, in Essex. William Scot, of that place, by his last will, bearing date 1490, ordered his executors to provide, "assone as they goodly may, to be seyde and songe for his Sowle and the Sowlys of his Fadyr and Modyr, Benefactours, and al Christen Sowlys, in the Covent Chyrch of the Freers Austyns of London, by the Freeres of the seyde Place, xxx masses, which bene callyd a Trental of S. Gregory, &c. Also in the seyde Covent Chyrche of Freeres Augustines, by the Covent of the seyde Place, a Dirige and Mass of Requiem by note, if it happen hym there to decese. And to the same Freeres for the same Dirige and Mass to be kept, that is to sey, the Principal thereat, beyng x^l to the Pryor, x^l; to the Freeres which shall syng the said Mass of Requiem, xij^d; to every other Freer of the same House being a Pryest, and helping at the same Dirige and Mass, viij^d; and to every other Freer of the same Howse, being no Pryest, helping therein, lykewyse iiij^d."

I hardly need add, that this list is interesting, not only in an heraldic or genealogical, but also in an architectural point of view. The mention of the various chapels and of the chapter-house, for example, enlarges our notions of the general effect of the entire structure, though it only makes us regret the more the woeful destruction to which it has been doomed.

But I have yet to call attention to a feature which was, perhaps, the most conspicuous and striking of all to a stranger, especially to one whose eye rested from a distance upon the picturesque group of edifices on which we are now employed. Above all that varied grandeur of the richest and loveliest kind, there rose a steeple which was one of the architectural marvels of London. Old Stowe calls it "most fine," and describes it as furnished with a spire, "small, high, and straight; I have not," he adds, "seen the like." Possibly this spire, which the chronicler thus signalizes as unique, may have been similar to those examples which, though rare in England, are not unfrequent in France, where, instead of the spire being apparently solid, or with entire faces of ashlar, and small openings at

several heights, it was composed of that rich tracery work in which the architects of the Decorated period were wont to luxuriate. Some of my readers will recollect such a spire, technically called a *flèche*, in the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, and in that wondrous work of constructive genius, the Cathedral of Amiens. Such a spire may have graced the steeple of Austin Friars; and if so, English eyes would hardly ever be weary of gazing on its exquisite proportions, or of watching its graceful lines of shadow, as they fell upon the tall turrets and high-pointed gables by which it was surrounded. In a remarkable tempest of wind, which did immense damage in London in the 1362, it was overthrown, but was forthwith rebuilt. There it stood for centuries, and might have endured to the present hour, but for what the old historian calls "private benefit, the only devourer of antiquity," against the violence of which nothing is strong, sacred, or secured.

The Austin Friar was a man of mark in the days of scholastic divinity. It was in the year 1251 that Innocent IV. granted the Order his permission to go into distant countries, to build monasteries, and to celebrate divine service everywhere. They passed over into England in that same year, and presently established themselves in London. They soon sent a few of the brethren to Oxford, and their presence at once raised the standard of learning in that University. They were the speedily acknowledged masters both in philosophy and divinity. It was in their school that the Divinity Acts were kept, and no man could be admitted to the degree of bachelor without once a year disputing, and once answering, at the Augustinians. They were, it appears, the eyes of the place and the leaders of its literature.

The Austin friar was just such an ecclesiastic as an artist would have loved to sketch. He wore a long black gown, with broad sleeves, with a fine cloth hood, or cowl, when he went abroad, and in choir; but under this, and when he was in his house, a white habit and scapulary, and was girdled about the waist with a black leathern strap, fastened with a buckle of ivory. He was rather, as it appears, fond of elegancies, and did not recognise one or two days of mortification, which the more austere Car-

melites most rigidly and carefully observed. He was, however, a hard student, wherever he lived, whether among the shades of academic bowers, or in localities less favourably situated for mental development. In remarkable times he was a remarkable man.

The House in London was the head House of the Order. It would naturally be so, from its position, though I am not aware that its prior was always, though he was often, the recognized head of the English brethren. The residents, though probably not so actively employed in educational works as those at Oxford, were much and widely celebrated. From the time of their foundation downward, a regular succession of learned men lived and died within their precincts. There was, for example, the acute and controversial Banchin, or Bakin, a famous preacher and disputant. He lived in the year 1382, and was a zealous antagonist of Wicliffe and his followers. For some time he was the Divinity Professor at Oxford, and was considered one of the greatest of living theologians. Then there was the famous John Lowe, also Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and provincial of his Order—no man greater in the pulpit than he. The collecting of books, also, was his delight, and the library of this house in London was particularly beholden to him. He was a special favourite of Henry VI., who made him one of his privy council, and subsequently Bishop of Rochester. He died in 1436. Another well-known resident was Thomas Pemkett, whom Leland describes as unequalled in sharpness of disputation, and as being formed so closely after the model of Scotus, “that one egg could not be more like to another, or milk to milk.” His memory was so acute that, it was said, if Scotus’s ponderous volumes had been destroyed, he would have been able to replace them, with hardly the loss of a word. In the metaphysical philosophy of Aristotle, and the practice of the scholastic logic, he had no superior. He died here in 1487. Lastly, and to furnish an example of a famous brother of this house skilled in yet another department of learning, there was the no less celebrated prior, John Tonney, the Trench of his age, great in the niceties of language, and the properties of words. He left treatises behind him on the quantities of syllable.

bles, on the mode of making verses, on wit and rhymes, and on the rudiments of grammar. There was no lack of books in Austin Friars' library. I can tell you, even now, the names of some of them, written down for us by an eye-witness. Prior Lowe, as I said, had well furnished it with all the books that he could collect. There was of course the History of William of Malmesbury, which seems to have found a place in every monastic bibliotheca. There was also the *Historiola Adami Murimuntensis Canonici Sancti Pauli Londini*, not long since committed to the printing press, under the auspices of the Historical Society. The "Epistles of Ennodius," the "Homilies of Maurice," and others, were there conspicuous. A certain *Deflorator Matthæi Parisiensis Historici* was also there; and, for more private use, the treatise of the Lincoln Saint *De Oculo Morali*, and another, *De Resurrectione Domini*. Then, in the chamber of the librarian, why in that place I know not, whether for secret study, or for keeping others from temptation—there were some tracts of Wicliffe. These latter were among the *libri rariores* of the age.*

There are several entries in the Patent and Close Rolls referring to this celebrated House. The first that I have noticed is of the 27th year of King Edward I., and conveys the royal licence to William Marchaund to give and assign to the brethren a certain place of ten perches in length and five in breadth, with its appurtenances, situate in Oreford; and to said brethren to accept the same, with the usual reservations of the lord's rights, services, &c. The patent is dated at Westminster, the 5th of April, 1299.†

The second is a writ of *certiorari*, and orders an inquiry to be made by the Sheriffs of London of an encroachment alleged to have been made by the Friars in the erection of certain walls in the parish of All-Hallows-by-the-Wall, and in the parish of St. Peter of Bradestrete. Dated at Westminster, 4th of July, 1321.‡

The next is in pursuance of the verdict of a jury, and conveys

* See Leland, Collect. vol. iv. p. 54.

† Pat. 27 Edw. I. m. 31. Appendix No. I.

‡ Claus. 14 Edw. II. m. 1. App. No. II.

licence to John de Handlo to give to the prior and brethren a messuage and a garden adjoining their House, for the enlargement of the same. A reservation was made of ten shillings a-year from the tithes and oblations of the tenants of the same, situate in the parish of St. Peter of Bradestrete, and of the fruit of the trees that grew there, in favour of the parson of that church and his successors. The aforesaid messuage and garden being further held of the king *in capite*, and charged with an annual payment of twenty shillings to the prior of the Church of Blessed Mary of Suthewerk, these services and payments were to be continued. The instrument was dated at Somerton, 12th of October, 1334.*

Eleven years afterwards another licence was granted in favour of the community. On this occasion it was addressed to Reginald Cobham, and conveyed permission to give to the Prior and brethren three messuages with their appurtenances situate in London, and held of the king *in capite*. These premises also were stated to be given for the enlargement of the House. The licence was dated at Westminster, 20th of April, 1345.†

In the 37th year of Edward III. further benefactions are recorded. The instrument sets forth that the prior and convent had obtained from William de Heston, sometime prior of the new Hospital of St. Mary-without-Bishhopesgate, in the suburbs of London, and from the convent of the said hospital, a certain tenement with its appurtenances in the aforesaid city some time since the property of Isabella daughter of Gerard Bat; and from John de Abiton, afterwards prior, and the convent of the aforesaid Hospital, another tenement in the said city with its appurtenances formerly belonging to Arnald le Tanner; and from certain other persons certain tenements with their appurtenances in the aforesaid city, whereof some belonged aforetime to Hugh Moton, and some to Peter le Coefrer; also from John de Hereford, citizen of London, a certain parcel of ground with its appurtenances, in the said city, formerly belonging to William

* Pat. 8 Edw. III. p. 2, m. 21, App. No. III.

† Pat. 19 Edw. III. p. 1, m. 17, App. No. IV.

de Parys, bourser; also from John de Bradeford and Isabella his wife certain tenements with their appurtenances in Froggemere-street, in St. Olave's Lane in the said city. Further, that Jordan de Langele, and Margery his wife, who had previously been the wife of Richard de Raygate, had given them, to the end of the life of the said Margery, a certain garden with its appurtenances in the aforesaid city; and that Isabella, Cecilia, and Margaret, daughters and heiresses of the said Richard, to whom the reversion of the said garden belonged on the death of the aforesaid Margery, had surrendered all right and claim in the said garden; and also that James, sometime prior of the said Hospital, the successor of John aforesaid, and his convent had surrendered all right and claim to seventy-eight shillings and tenpence of rent issuing from the tenements aforesaid. That these lands, tenements, and rents, had been accepted and appropriated without the royal licence. That, although these properties were outlawed, yet that of his special grace the king had pardoned the outlawry; and that he gave to the prior and brethren his licence to hold without hindrance the tenements, &c. aforesaid, the statute of mortmain notwithstanding, with reservation of the customary services. Dated at Westminster, the 30th of April, 1363.*

It may be presumed that many of these parcels of land were adjacent to the monastery. Some, as we have seen, are expressly stated to have been so, and to have been given for the purpose of enlarging the premises. The conventual church we know to have been in process of erection at this very time; and it is probable that part if not the whole of the ground on which it stood, was acquired in the manner which has just been related.

There is yet another document entered upon the Patent Roll of the 17th of Richard II., but it gives us no further information. It is a charter of *Inspeximus*, recounting the particulars of the lastmentioned instrument, and adding to them a further ratification and confirmation. It is dated at Westminster, 18th December, 1393.†

* Pat. 37 Edw. III. p. 1, m. 20, App. No. V.

† Pat. 17 Ric. II. p. 1, m. 4, App. No. VI.

Thus, then, for several centuries the house of the Austin Friars continued to flourish in rest and peace—one of those great humanizers, which prevented mediæval society from becoming one unvarying scene of riot and misrule. It was from such walls as these that the mighty leaven emanated, which gave the times all that they possessed of learning, refinement, and moral excellence. It was here, and here alone, that the various and discordant elements could and did unite, and where men could meet on one common ground—the ground of Christian brotherhood. Within these walls, century after century, was one or more of the recognized masters in the sciences then known. Either the prior or one of the brethren was a man of celebrity, a professor at Oxford, a renowned controversialist, an admired preacher. Austin Friars was thus the centre of artistic, intellectual, and pious effort, and the very name of this beautiful house was synonymous with influences that largely contributed to illuminate and dignify the age.

I have not room, with the very limited space at my command, nor perhaps is it requisite, to detail the various causes and steps which led at last to its suppression and final overthrow. Few patient students of that age will differ from me when I affirm that the religious opinions of the sufferers had very little to do with the persecutions and miseries to which they were exposed. It is therefore quite right and natural for any man to be zealous in behalf of things, the possession of which is a constituent of our own happiness, and, at the same time, to visit with the condemnation which it deserves the atrocious wrong which accompanied their revival.

The deed of Acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy, made doubtless by this among other religious Houses in the year 1534, is not extant. Immediately afterwards the Priory was valued at *57l. 4d.* This represents its income during its last few years of trouble and persecution.

Even to the last, however, it exhibited the spirit which had so long prevailed within its walls. Ability was still its characteristic. So late as the year 1535 George Brown, one of its members, who had subscribed to the Supremacy, the 20th of April, 1534,

was consecrated to the Archbishopric of Dublin. But the mortal struggle was all but come, and nothing remained but a favourable opportunity for the putting into execution of the long plotted determination to destroy.

It was on the 12th of November, 1539, that the storm which had so long been threatening burst at length over this devoted House. Thomas Hamond was at that time Prior, and with twelve of his Canons surrendered his monastery to the king. The Deed of Surrender furnishes us with the names of the entire community, thus exposed to the tender mercies of an inexperienced world. They were Thomas Hamond prior, Robert Howman, William Skott, William Danbe, William Ballard, Thomas Symsun, William Malyn, Robert Myddylton, Thomas Dyccson, John Grome, David Coop, Richard Batte, and Dr. John Stokes. The seal has apparently been torn off, and the document itself has in other respects fared badly, a fact which the late judicious attempts at reparation do not avail to conceal.

Two years afterwards a portion of the site was granted to Sir Thomas Wriothesley. On the 16th of July, 1540, the king granted to the aforesaid the great house or messuage within the site and precinct of the late House of the Austin Friars, to be held by him and his heirs.* The following year another portion was exchanged with Sir William Pawlett, Lord St. John, 13th May, 1541;† and others were given to Sir Richard Riche. Lastly, King Edward VI., on the 22nd July, 1550, granted to the same William Lord St. John, and his heirs, in soccage, all the upper part of the church, the choir, transept ("le crosse ile"), and chapels.‡ This man had in the meanwhile become Earl of Wiltshire, was afterwards Lord Treasurer, and Marquis of Winchester, and died in 1571. This last grant—the cross aisle or transept, and chapels—he used as a place for the stowage of corn, and the choir he made his coal-house. The next Marquis seems to have been a worthy son of a worthy sire. He wanted, it appears, more room and more money; and accordingly sold all the monuments of noble-

* Orig. 32 Hen. VIII. p. 2, rot. liii.

† Orig. 33 Hen. VIII. p. 2, rot. xxxiii.

Orig. 4 Edw. VI. p. 3, rot. xxvi.

men and others there, as we have already seen, interred, together with the pavestones, and other moveable things, for 100*l.*, and in place of them made stabling for his horses. His thrift went still further; for he stripped the lead from the roof of the church, and laid tile instead thereof; which same exchange of lead for tile, we read, "proved not so profitable as he looked for, but rather to his disadvantage."

As an instance of the atrocious disregard of justice, and indifference to the claims alike of God and man, which characterized those times, I would call attention to the behaviour of the Lord High Chamberlain Cromwell, in regard of property lying immediately contiguous to that now under our review. He built a house for himself where Drapers' Hall now stands. When the house was finished, accompanied, it is said, with a garden sufficient for the taste of any reasonable man, he caused, nevertheless, the pales of the gardens adjoining to the north part there on a sudden to be taken down, 22 feet to be measured directly into every neighbour's ground, a line to be drawn, a trench to be cut, a foundation to be laid, and a high brick wall to be built. The father of the chronicler Stowe had a garden there, and the injured son pathetically bewails the wrong that was perpetrated. He tells us that, in the said garden, there was a house standing close to the south pale. This house he says, they loosed from the ground, and carried on rollers into my father's garden 22 feet, before my father heard thereof. No warning was given him; nor any other answer, when he heard thereof, and spake to the surveyors of that work, but that their master Sir Thomas commanded them so to do. From this specimen of the *pro ratione voluntas* principle, we may clearly understand the chance that churchmen had of escaping from the fangs of this insatiate spoiler. If worshipful citizens could be fleeced with such impunity, poor priests must necessarily at that period have been more easily coerced. For, says Stowe, no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land; and my father paid his whole rent for that half which was left. And he concludes with this sagacious, but at the same time melancholy reflection, by which he apparently seeks to solace himself for the injury which had been done him, "Thus much of mine own

knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sudden rising of some men causeth them to forget themselves.”*

On the site of the House, cloister, and gardens, the first Marquis built a large mansion, called Winchester House, the remembrance of which, I hardly need say, is still preserved in the names of the two Winchester streets and various offices in the immediate neighbourhood. The nave of the church was not pulled down; but, upon petition, was granted by King Edward VI. to the Dutch, to be their preaching-place. The king recorded the circumstance in his Diary, June 29, 1550. By letters patent, dated the 24th of July, 1551, it was appointed that John à Lasco, and his congregation of Walloons, should have Austin Friars—stripped, of course, of all its ornaments—for their church, to be called by them “Jesus’ Temple,” and to have their service in, “for avoiding all sects of Anabaptists and such like.”† In addition to this charter there exists in the State Paper Office a letter—written in February, 1560—of Queen Elizabeth to the Marquis of Winchester, empowering him to deliver the church to the Bishop of London, for the celebration of divine service for the strangers resident in London.‡

The reader will recollect “the fine spired steeple” that was so great an ornament to the House. It endured through all these troubles and desecrations, at least so late as the year 1603, but was much dilapidated. It was, however, an object of such exquisite beauty, and the interest felt by the citizens on its behalf was so decided, that, three years previous to this date, a petition was in the first place presented to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen by the inhabitants of St. Peter-le-Poor, and was by them embodied in another, which they sent to the Marquis of Winchester, to whom the property ostensibly belonged.

“There hath been offered of late,” they say, “unto this Court a most just and earnest petition, by divers of the chiefest of the Parish of St. Peter-the-Poor, to move us to be humble suitors unto

* Stowe, ed. 1603, pp. 180, 181.

† Orig. 4 Edw. VI. p. 2, rot. xvii. Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. book i. n. li.

‡ Letters, vol. xi. n. 24. See also Inq. p. m. 14 Eliz. n. 93.

your Lordship, in a cause which is sufficient to speak for itself, without the mediation of any other; viz., for the repairing of the ruinous steeple of the Church sometime called the Augustin Friars, the fall thereof, which without speedy prevention is near at hand, must needs bring with it not only a great deformity to the whole city, it being for architecture one of the beautifulest and rarest spectacles thereof, but also a fearful imminent danger to all the inhabitants next adjoining." They then complained that his Lordship had, a year before, given honourable promises to repair the structure, which promises, the present letter makes certain, he had dishonourably broken. They reminded him that a small expenditure would stay the impending ruin, and that thus his Lordship would do a work very helpful to many, and most grateful to all, as well English as strangers—and that they could much rejoice to be thus relieved from having resort to the last remedy, the law of the land, *de reparatione facienda*—as they kindly quote it, for his Lordship's enlightenment! And then they humbly take leave of his Lordship.—"From London, the 4th of August, 1600; Signed Nicholas Mosly, Mayor," and many others. But this ignoble nobleman was alike regardless of promise and deaf to importunity; so "the steeple, with the east part of the church, was taken down," and, as Stowe, adds, "houses for one man's commodity raised in the place, whereof London hath lost so goodly an ornament, and times hereafter may more talk of it."*

A very few words must be added, before I conclude, on the architectural peculiarities of the church as we now see it. I am of opinion that little if any of it is earlier than the latter part of the fifteenth century, and that the present structure was rebuilt at that period with the older window tracery inserted in the new walls. This tracery is clearly of about the year 1354, the date of the second church (*see the figures*); and the subsequent re-employment of it imparted an air to the later edifice to which the builders of that day were generally unequal. The nave is of nine vast bays, divided by piers of Late Perpendicular character (*see the figures*). All over the building—in the shallow mullions and chamfers, in the

* Stowe, by Strype, vol. i. p. 442.



UTTING. 56

WINDOW IN NAVE OF AUSTIN FRIARS CHURCH, LONDON.

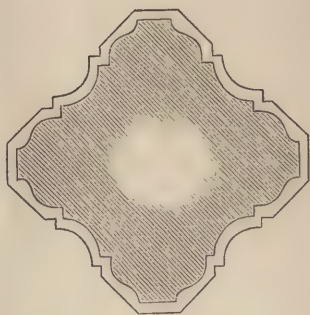
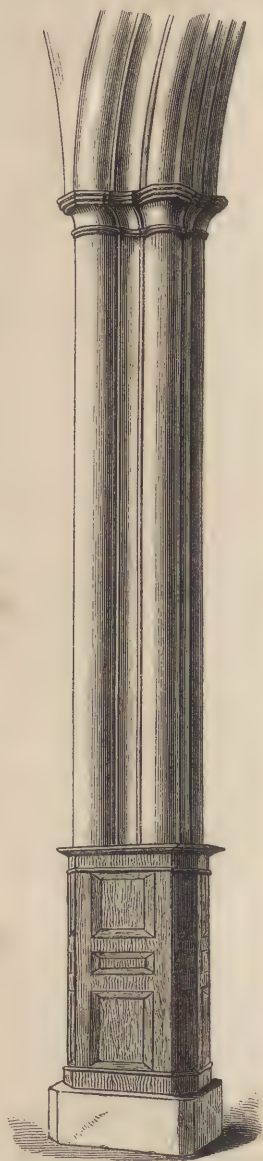




WINDOW IN AISLE OF AUSTIN FRIARS CHURCH, LONDON.







SECTION AT SPRING OF ARCH.

PIER IN NAVE OF AUSTIN
FRIARS CHURCH.

seats within the sills of the windows, and especially in the piers just mentioned,—there are clear indications of a late age. The exact position of the steeple must, I fear, remain doubtful. I once thought it probable that this architectural wonder occupied the point of junction between the nave and choir; but the easternmost piers of the former, if these still remain, seem totally unequal to support even such a weight as that which the accounts of the structure already quoted would lead us to attribute to it. The present roof I do not believe earlier than the reign of James I. even if so early as that period. There is no ornamental glass in the windows save a few quarries with ~~the~~ and six devices of “Jesus Temple, 1550.” The south porch and the organ gallery are works of the seventeenth century, not displeasing in themselves, but entirely out of place in the edifice of which they form a part. Of the conventual buildings a fragment may possibly yet be seen in an arch on one side of a courtyard adjoining the north wall of the nave. At this spot the cloister may have been located, and this arch have formed a part of it. The havoc, however, has been so complete and unsparing that this must necessarily be a matter of the merest conjecture.

The history of the locality from the age of Elizabeth to our own has but few charms, either in a literary or artistic sense; nor does the space accorded to me allow of later detail. As for the preserved portion of the church, the Dutch have retained possession of it until now; not, however, without sundry alterations, which can by no means be considered improvements. As an example of this, there is an account by a modern writer of the covering of the walls with *compo*; thus imparting, he says, “a spruce, even appearance to the old structure, destroying every appearance of antiquity, and giving to a fine remnant of the monastic glories of London the appearance of a modern gimcrack.” This act of vandalism, together with the alteration of the *splays* of the buttresses, is duly anathematized in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1831. The interior, however, of the vast nave still presents, amidst all its desolation, a most affecting and magnificent spectacle. The clustered piers and exquisite windows, and the noble air and grand proportions of the whole, still possess inspiration for all who can

appreciate the beautiful and the true in architectural science. While not only can Art discourse to us of her marvels, but Religion herself can whisper to us of much—much to be learned, much to be loved, much to be prayed for, much to be deprecated—on the time-worn pavement, beneath the lofty arches, and amidst the venerable walls of “AUSTIN FRIARS.”

THOMAS HUGO.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

[Pat. 27 Edw. I. m. 31.]

p Fribz Ordīs S̄ci Augustini Lond̄.—R Oñibz ad quos ꝑc. Sal̄m. Licet de cōi consilio Regni n̄ri statūims qđ nō liceat viris religiosis seu alijs ingredi feodū alicujꝰ ita qđ ad manū mortuam deveniat sine licencia n̄ra ꝛ Capitāl Dñi de quo res illa immediate tenetꝛ Volentes tamen Disco nob̄ Wiffo Marchaund̄ grām facē sp̄alem dedimꝰ ei licenciam q̄ntum in nob̄ est qđ iꝑe quandam placiam que continet in se decem ꝑticatas ꝑre in longitudine ꝛ quinqꝑ ꝑticatas ꝑre in latitudine cum ꝑtiñ in Oreford̄, dare possit ꝛ assignare dilc̄is nob̄ in X̄po Fribz de Ordine S̄ci Augustini London̄ Tenend̄ ꝛ H̄end̄ sibi ꝛ successoribz suis imp̄petuū, et eisdem fribz qđ placiam illam ab eodem Wiffo recipe ꝑpossint tenore ꝑsenciū similiꝛ licenciam concedimꝰ sp̄alem. Nolentes qđ idem Wiffo vel heredes sui aut ꝑd̄ci fratres vel successores sui r̄one statuti ꝑd̄ci ꝑ nos vel heredes n̄ros inde occōnentꝛ in aliquo seu ḡaventꝛ Salvis tamen Capitalibz Dñis feodi illius ꝑvicijis inde debitis ꝛ consuetis. In cuiꝰ ꝛc. T. R̄ apud Westm̄ v. die April. ꝑ iꝑm Regem, ꝛ Inquisiçōem retornatam de consilio.

No. II.

[Claus. 14 Edw II. m. 1.]

p Fribz Ordinis S̄cti Augustini London. — R Vicecomitibz London̄ Sal̄m. Licet ut accepimꝰ nup ꝑsentatum fuisset corā Justiç n̄ris Itin̄antibz apud Turrin n̄ram London qđ F̄res de

Ordine S̄ci Augustini Londoñ quendam purpresturam de quodam muro in pochia Ecc̄e Oīm S̄coꝝ juxta murum ⁊ de quodam alio muro in pochia Ecc̄ie S̄cti Petri de Bradestrete in civitate p̄d̄ca injuste levatis fecerunt ⁊ consideratum sit q̄d muri illi prosterant^r. Nos tamen volentes sup̄ p̄missis anteq^m muri p̄d̄ci psterant^r pleni^o c̄ciorari, vob̄ p̄cipim^o q̄d psternacōi muroꝝ p̄d̄coꝝ supsedeatis quousq^q inde pleni^o informati aliud a nob̄ sup̄ hoc hūeritis in mandatis. T. R. apud Westm̄ q^arto die Julij. p̄ ip̄m Regem.

No. III.

[Pat. 8 Edw. III. p. 2, m. 21.]

D' licentia dandi ⁊ assignandi t^oras ⁊ teñ ad manū mortuam.— R. Oīmibz ad quos ꝓc. Sal̄m. Quia accepimus ꝓ Inquisicōem quam ꝓ d̄icem nobis Joñem de Pulteneye Majorem Civitatis n̄re Londoñ ⁊ Esc^o n̄rm in eadem Civitate fieri fecimus, q̄d non est ad dampnū vel p̄judiciū n̄rm aut alioꝝ, si concedam^o d̄ico ⁊ fideli n̄ro Joñi de Handlo, q̄d ip̄e unū mesuagiū ⁊ unū gardinū cū p̄tiñ in Londoñ manso d̄icoꝝ nob̄ in X̄po Prioris ⁊ Fr̄m Ordinis S̄ci Augustini Londoñ contigua dare possit ⁊ assignare p̄fatis Priori ⁊ Friabz. H'end^o ⁊ Tenend^o sibi ⁊ successoribz suis ad elargacōem mansi sui p̄d̄ci imp̄petuū. Nisi in hoc q̄d decem solidi annui ꝓvenientes de decimis ⁊ oblacionibz tenenciū mesuagii p̄ gardini p̄d̄coꝝ que sunt inf^a pochiam Ecc̄ie S̄ci Petri de Bradestrete Londoñ ⁊ de fructibz arboꝝ ibidem crescenciū ꝓsone Ecc̄ie illius ⁊ successoribz suis sub^aherent^r et q̄d mesuagiū ⁊ gardinū p̄d̄ca tenent^r de nob̄ in capite ⁊ on^oant^r annuatim Priori Ecc̄ie Bē Marie de Suthewerk ⁊ successoribz suis in viginti solidis Nos volentes p̄d̄cis Priori ⁊ Fr̄ibz Ordinis p̄d̄ci grām in hac ꝓte face^o sp̄alem concessim^o ⁊ Licenciam Dedim^o ꝓ nob̄ ⁊ heredibz n̄ris quantū in nob̄ est p̄fato Joñi de Handlo q̄d ip̄e Mesuagiū ⁊ Gardinū p̄d̄ca cū p̄tiñ dare possit ⁊ assignare eisdem Priori ⁊ Fr̄ibz H'end^o ⁊ Tenend^o sibi ⁊ Successoribz suis ad elargacōem mansi sui p̄d̄ci imp̄p̄m Et eisdem Priori ⁊ Fr̄ibz q̄d ip̄i Mesuagiū ⁊ Gardinū p̄d̄ca cum p̄tiñ a p̄fato Joñe de Handlo recipe possint ⁊ tenere sibi ⁊ successoribz suis p̄d̄cis imp̄p̄m sicut p̄d̄cm est tenore ꝓsenciū similiꝝ licenciam dedim^o sp̄alem Statuto de t̄ris ⁊ teñ ad

manū mortuam non ponend^t edito non obstante Nolentes qđ pđcī Jofes de Handlo vel heredes sui aut p̄fati Prior ⁊ Fřes seu successores sui řone Statuti illius seu alioř p̄missoř p nos vel heredes nřos Justiċ Eċ Viċ aut alios Ballivos seu Ministros nřos quoscumq; ocċōent^r molestent^r in aliquo seu g^avent^r. Salvis tamen nob^z ⁊ heredib^z nřis řvicijs inde debitis ⁊ consuetis ac pđċe p̄sone ⁊ successorib^z suis jure suo in hac pte necnon pđċo Priori Bē Marie ⁊ Successoribus suis redditu suo sup^adċo. In cui⁹ ꝛ. T^r R apud Somtoñ xij die Octobr^r.

P bře de p̄vato sigillo.

No. IV.

[Pat. 19 Edw. III. p. 1, m. 17.]

p Priore ⁊ fřib^z Ordinis Sċi Augustini Londoñ.—R Oñib^z ad quos ⁊ Salřm. Sciatis qđ de Gřa nřa sřali Concessim⁹ ⁊ licenciam Dedim⁹ p nob^z ⁊ heredib^z nřis quantū in nob^z est Diċco ⁊ fideli nřo Reginaldo de Cobham qđ ipe tria mesuagia cū p̄tin^r in Londoñ que de nob^z tenent^r in capite ut in burgagio ut dicit^r manso diċcoř nob^z in Xpō Prioris ⁊ Fratrū Ordinis Sċi Augustini Londoñ ibidem contigua dare possit ⁊ assignare p̄fatis Priori ⁊ Fřib^z H'end^r ⁊ Tenend^r sibi ⁊ successorib^z suis de nobis ⁊ heredib^z nřis p řvicia inde debita ⁊ consueta ad elargaċōem mansi sui pđcī imp̄petuū Et eisdem Priori ⁊ Fřib^z qđ ipe mesuagia pđċa cū p̄tiñ a p̄fato Reginaldo recip̄e possint ⁊ tenere sibi ⁊ successorib^z suis pđċis de nob^z ⁊ heredib^z nřis p řvicia pđċa ad elargaċōem mansi sui pđcī imp̄p̄m sicut pđċem est tenore p̄senciū simili^r licenciam dedim⁹ spalem statuto de t̄ris ⁊ teñ ad manū mortuam non ponend^t edito non obstante Nolentes qđ pđcūs Reginaldus vel heredes sui aut p̄fati Prior ⁊ Fřes seu successores sui řone p̄missoř seu statuti pđcī p nos vel heredes nřos Justiċ Escaetores Vicecomites aut alios Ballivos seu Ministros nřos quoscumq; ocċōnent^r molestent^r in aliquo seu g^avent^r. In cui⁹ ꝛ. T. R apud Westm̄ xx die Aprilis.

P Bře de Privato Sig.

No. V.

[Pat. 37 Edw. III. p. 1, m. 20.]

Pro priore ⁊ Conventu Fřm Heremitař de ordine Sđi Augustini.—R ořib; ad quos řc. Sařm. Sciatis řđ cum dĩci noř in Xřo Prior ⁊ Conventus domus řřm heremitař de ordine Sđi Augustini Londoř sibi ⁊ successorib; suis impřm adquisierint videt de Wiffo de Heston quondam Priore novi Hospitalis ře Marie ext^a Bisshopesgate in suburbio dře civitatis ⁊ ejusdem hospitalis conventu quoddam teř cum ptiř in eadem civitate quod dudum fuit Isabelle que fuit řř Gerardi Bat, ⁊ de Joře de Abitoř postmodum Priore ac dře Conventu řđci Hospitalis quoddam aliud teř cum ptiř in eadem civitate quod fuit Arnaldi le Tanner ⁊ de quibusdam alijs psonis řta teř cum ptiř in civitate řđca quoř quedam Hugonis Motoř ⁊ quedam Petri le Coefrer fuerunt ⁊ de Joře de Hereford cive Londoř quandam pcellam řre cum ptiř in dđa civitate que fuit Wiffo de Parys bourser ac de Joře de Bradeford ⁊ Isabella uře ejus quedam teř cum ptiř in Froggemestrete in venella Sđi Olavi dře Civitatis ac Jordanus de Langele ⁊ Margřia uř ejus nup ux^o Riři de Raygate dedissent ⁊ concessissent ad řminũ vite řřate Margřie eisdem Priori ⁊ Conventui řřm heremitař quoddam gardinũ cum ptiř in Civitate řđca et Isabella, Cecilia, ⁊ Margareta řř et heredes řřius Riři quib; revřio ejusdem gardini post decessum řřate Margřie nup ux^ois řđci Riři de Raygate spectabat jure hereditario postmodũ totũ jus ⁊ clameũ que in dře gardino cum ptiř řřuerunt ac eciam Jacobus dudum Prior Hospitař řđci successor řđci Jořis prius Prioris řřius Hospitař ⁊ Conventus ejusdem totũ jus ⁊ clameũ que in sexaginta ⁊ decem ⁊ octo solidatis ⁊ decem denaratis redditus cum ptiř exeuntib; de dčis teř que fuerunt řđcoř Isabelle řř Gerardi Arnaldi Hugonis ⁊ Petri řřuerunt řđcis Priori ⁊ Conventui Fřm heremitař ořino p se ⁊ heredib; suis remiserunt ⁊ relaxaverunt que quidem teř gardinũ řra ⁊ redditus de noř in libũ burgagiũ sicut tota civitas řđca tenent řřidemq. Prior ⁊ Conventus Fřm heremitař ořia teř řras gardinũ ⁊ redditum řđca cum ptiř virtute adquisicionũ donacionũ concessionũ ⁊ relaxacionũ řđcař ingressi fuissent licencia aliquoř pgenitoř řřoř seu řřra sup hijs non optenta ut accepim^o. Nos licet eadem teř řra gardinũ ⁊ red-

ditus p̄dca cum p̄tiñ noſ forisf̄ca de gr̄a tamen n̄ra ſp̄ali p̄dona-
vim⁹ forisf̄cūram ad nos competentem in hac pte ⁊ eciam exitus ad
nos de teñ p̄dcis p̄tinentes rōne forisf̄cūre eoꝝdem. Et volum⁹ ⁊
concedim⁹ p noſ ⁊ heredibz n̄ris quantum in noſ est qđ p̄fati Prior
⁊ Conventus F̄rm Heremitaꝝ oīa teñ ſras gardinū ⁊ redditū p̄dca
cum p̄tiñ de p̄dcis redditu ⁊ exitibz exon⁹ata ⁊ quieta h̄eant ⁊
teneant ſibi ⁊ ſuccessoribz ſuis de noſ ⁊ heredibz n̄ris p ſvicia
inde debita ⁊ conſueta imp̄p̄m ſine oc̄cōne vel impedimento n̄ri
vel heredum n̄roꝝ Juſtiĉ Eſcaetoꝝ Vicecomitū aut alioꝝ ballivoꝝ
ſeu miniſtroꝝ n̄roꝝ quozcumq; d̄ca forisf̄cūra ſeu ſtatuto de ſris ⁊
teñ ad manū mortuam non ponend edito non obſtantibz. Et in-
ſup ex habundanti tam oīmōdas p̄dcas adquiſiĉōes donaĉōes
conceſſiones ⁊ relaxaĉōes q̄m q̄ſcumq; alias donaĉōes conces-
ſiones aſſignaĉōes ⁊ relaxaĉōes p̄fatis Priori ⁊ Conventui F̄rm
Heremitaꝝ de teñ ⁊ redditibz quibuscumq; tam que de noſ q̄m de
aliis in d̄ca Civitate poſt ⁊ ante d̄cm ſtatutū confectum p quascumq;
p̄ſonas f̄cas p noſ ⁊ heredibz n̄ris quantū in noſ est acceptam⁹ rati-
ficam⁹ ⁊ tenore p̄ſenciū confirmam⁹ Proviſo ſemp qđ iīdem Prior ⁊
Convent⁹ F̄rm Heremitaꝝ aliqua teñ niſi p inh̄itaĉōe ſua ult^a
tanta teñ que ad repaĉōem ejusdem inh̄itaĉōis ⁊ ad ſoluĉōem ⁊
ſuſtentaĉōem reddituū ⁊ on^um inde debitoꝝ annuatim ſufficē
poſunt in toto non h̄eant quovis modo. In cujus ſc. T. R apud
Weſtm̄ xxx die Aprii.

P b̄re de privato ſigillo.

No. VI.

[Pat. 17 Ric. II. p. 1, m. 4.]

D' confirmatione — R oīibz ad quos ſc. ſal̄tm. Inſpexim⁹
ſras patentes d̄ni E. nup Regis Angl̄ aīi n̄ri f̄cas Priori ⁊ Con-
ventui domus F̄rm Heremitaꝝ de ordine S̄ci Auguſtini Londoñ
in hec ſ̄ba: Edwardus Dei gr̄a, &c.

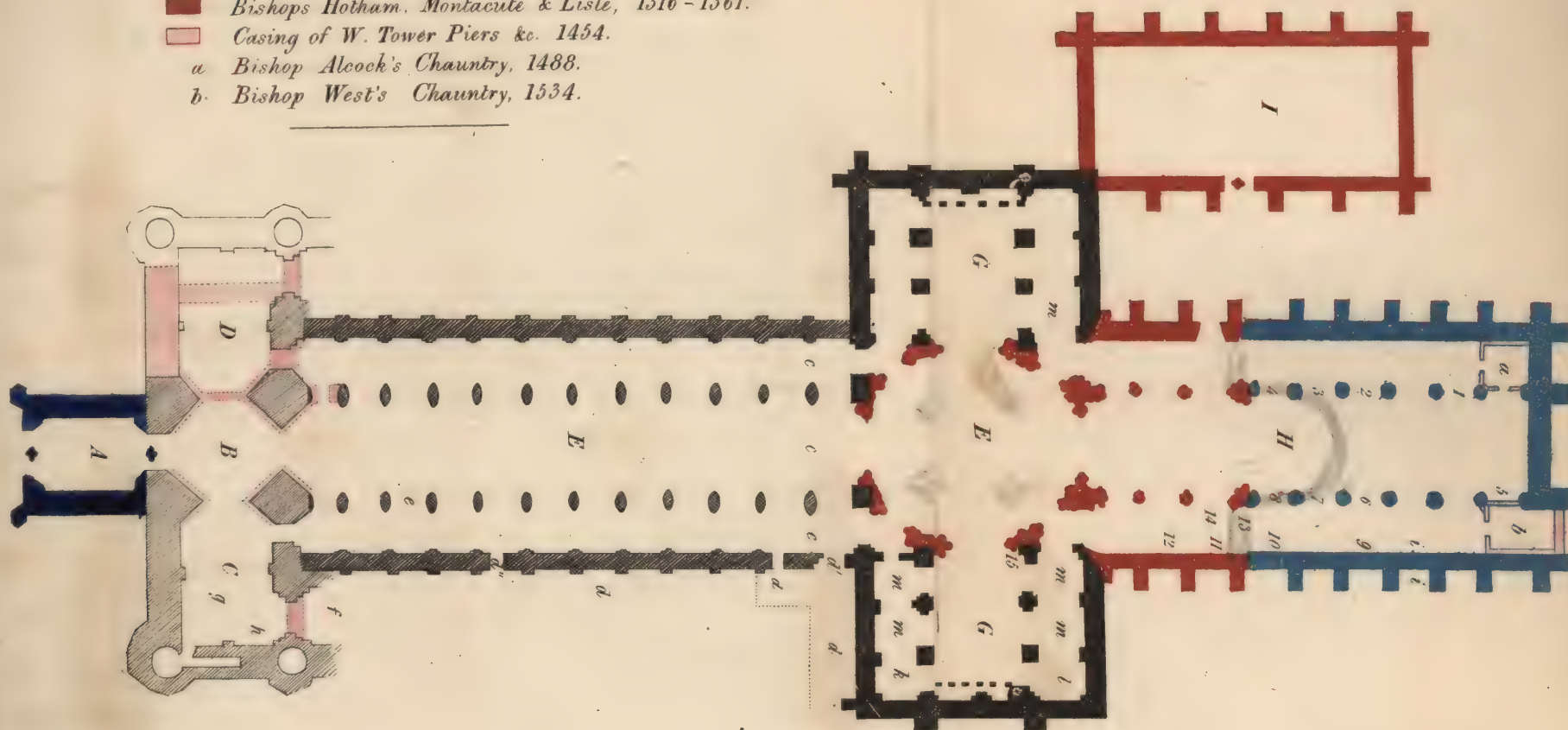
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Nos autē ſras p̄dcas ⁊ oīa contenta in eiſdem rata h̄ientes ⁊
g^ata ea p noſ ⁊ heredibz n̄ris quantum in noſ est acceptam⁹ rati-
ficam⁹ approbam⁹ ⁊ d̄icis noſ in X̄po nunc Priori ⁊ Conventui
domus p̄dce ⁊ ſuccessoribus ſuis tenore p̄ſenciū concedim⁹ ⁊
confirmam⁹ put h̄re p̄dce rōnabiliꝝ teſtant^r. In cujus ſc. T' R
apud Weſtm̄ xvij. die Decem̄br.

p dimid̄ marca ſoluꝝ in Hanapio.



- *Abbat Simeon, 1081-1093.*
- ▨ *Bishops Harvey & Neal, 1109-1174.*
- ▩ *Bishop Ridel, 1174-1189.*
- *Bishop Eustachius, 1197-1220.*
- *Bishop Northwold, 1229-1254.*
- *Bishops Hotham, Montacute & Lisle, 1316-1361.*
- *Casing of W. Tower Piers &c. 1454.*
- a Bishop Alcock's Chauntry, 1488.*
- b Bishop West's Chauntry, 1534.*



Historical Ground Plan of Ely Cathedral.

A Brief History and Description

OF THE

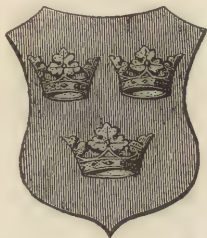
CONVENTUAL AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

THE HOLY TRINITY,

ELY.

“DIGNA DEI DOMUS: CUI NOMEN CONVENIT EJUS.”



BY J. W. HEWETT,

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE CAMBRIDGE
ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.

“Keep thy foot when thou goest into the House of God.”—*Eccles. v. 1.*

CAMBRIDGE: E. MEADOWS;
ELY: HILLS; LONDON: J. MASTERS; OXFORD: J. H. PARKER.

1848

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Compiler of the following pages cannot but be conscious of the disadvantage under which he lies, in writing on Ely Cathedral before the appearance of that valuable series of documents relating thereto, which is now in preparing for publication by the Rev. D. J. Stewart. He ventures nevertheless to hope, that though his present hand-book may be deficient in many particulars of information which might have been derived from those sources if within his reach, yet it will not be found erroneous in what it does contain, for this has been collected from the best authorities at present accessible; sufficient ones, it is conceived, to justify all that is here attempted, and which have been throughout referred to for the verification of every statement. And here it would be wrong to omit particular mention of Mr. Bentham, whose work on the Minster of Ely was the result of a long and most patient investigation of its recorded history, and a very discriminating survey of its actual condition. Since the appearance of that book, the lapse of three quarters of a century has done much to advance the science of Ecclesiastical Architecture, yet it cannot make us forget how much we are indebted to its Author as the first promoter of the study.

Should the present manual be of assistance to those who visit the Cathedral of Ely in a catholic spirit, proving neither too technical for the uninitiated, nor too meagre for the Ecclesiologist, its Compiler will be well pleased, and will consider that the Easter vacation, now closing as he writes, has not been unprofitably spent in the accomplishment of his task.

REFERENCES TO THE GROUND-PLAN.

- A Galilee Porch.
 - B Tower.
 - C South Western Transept.
 - D Remains of North Western Transept.
 - E Nave with Aisles.
 - F Octagon.
 - GG Eastern Transepts with Aisles.
 - H Choir with Aisles.
 - I Lady Chapel.
-
- a* Bp. Alcock's Chantry.
 - b* Bp. West's Chantry.
 - ccc* Site of the Ancient Rood-skreen.
 - ddd* Remains of Cloisters, (*d'* Monks' entrance, *d''* Prior's ditto).
 - e* Font.
 - f* Remains of an apsidal Chantry.
 - g* Remains of a Well or Baptistry.
 - h* Ancient communication with the Episcopal Palace.
 - i* Blocked doorway.
 - k* Chapter-house and Muniment-room.
 - l* Library.
 - mm* Vestries.
-
- 1 Site of Bp. Gray's Monument.
 - 2 Bp. Hotham.
 - 3 Bp. Kilkenny.
 - 4 Bp. Redman.
 - 5 Cardinal Bp. de Luxemburgh.
 - 6 Tiptoft E. Worcester.
 - 7 Bp. Northwold.
 - 8 Bp. de Luda.
 - 9 Bp. Gunning.
 - 10 Bp. Heton.
 - 11 Robt. Steward, Esq.
 - 12 Sir Mark Steward, Knt.
 - 13 Brass of Bp. Goodrich.
 - 14 Brass of Dean Tindal.
 - 15 Ancient Bishop, supposed to be John de Fontibus, or Geoffrey de Burgo.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

	Feet In.
Length from East to West, exterior	531 0
Length from East to West, interior	511 6
viz. Choir	154 0
Octagon	71 6
Nave	203 0
Tower	39 6
Galilee	43 6
Breadth of Choir within the first-pointed pillars	33 0
Breadth of Nave within the pillars	33 6
Breadth of Choir and Nave with their Aisles	78 0
Length of Eastern Transept	179 0
Breadth of same with its Aisles	74 0
Length of Western Transept, <i>restored</i>	131 0
Breadth of same	28 0
Length of Lady Chapel	100 0
Breadth of same	43 0
Height of Western Tower to the Turret Battlements	217 0
Height of Octagon to the same	170 0
Height of Octagon internally	145 0
Height of Choir	73 0
Height of Nave Vaulting shafts	70 0
Height of Roof-ridge, exterior	104 0

BISHOPS OF EAST-ANGLIA.

<i>See Dunwich.</i>	A. D.	A. D.
Felix ¹	631	Ob. 647.
Thomas	647	— 652 or 3.
Bonifacius	652 or 3	— c. 669.
Bisi	669.	

About the year 673, Bisi "being hindred by extreme infirmity from the administration of his Diocess, Æcci and Baduvini were elected and consecrated in his stead: from which time to the present the province of East-Anglia has been wont to possess two

1. According to the Monk of Norwich, in Wharton's *Angl. Sacr.* i. 403, St. Felix and his three immediate successors had their seat at Silthelstowe, on the East coast of Suffolk. Others say for a time at Soham.

Bishops."¹ Of these the former had his see at Dunwich, the latter at Elmham.

See Dunwich.

Etta (*Æcci*) 673, retired 675,
Easculphus,
Eadredus (*Aldberct*) occurs in
731 and 747,
Cuthwinus,
Albertus,
Eglafus,
Hardredus,
Alsinus,
Titefertus occurs c. 787, and in
798, 803, 816,
Weremundus dec. 870,
Wilredus.

See Elmham.

Bedwinus (*Baduvini*) 673, re-
tired 675,
Northbertus,
Etelatus occurs in 731,
Edelfridus,
Lamfertus,
Athelwlvus,
Wnferthus occurs c. 787,
Sibba occurs in 816,
Hunfertus occurs in 824,
Humbritus² suc. bef. 826,
dec. 870.

Both Humbritus, or Humbertus, and Weremundus deceased A.D. 870, and Wilredus succeeded them, having, as it would appear, his see at Elmham. The succession continued thus:—

See Elmham.

Adulphus, cons. after 938, occurs in 963,
Affricus occurs in 966,
Tedredus,
Tedredus,
Edelstanus, cons. before 975, dec. c. 996,
S. Algarus, dec. 1021,
Alwinus, dec. 1029,
Elfricus, dec. before 1035,
Elfricus *Bonus*, dec. 1038,
Stigandus, trs. to Winchester, 1047,
Grimketel,
Agelmarus, deposed 1070,
Arfattus, 1070. Soon after, viz. in 1075, the see was removed to Thetford.

See Thetford.

Arfattus, dec. 1084 or 5,
Willelmus de Belfago, Dec. 25, 1085, cons. the year after. Dec.
c. 1091,

1. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iv. 5.

2. "On the 25th of Dec., 856, he crowned Edmund King of the East Angles, and with him suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Danes, Nov. 20th. 870."—*Wharton*.

Herbertus 1091. On April 10th, 1094, the see was transferred to Norwich.

Thus far we have followed the Monk of Norwich, in Wharton, who gives us no information as to when Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Lincoln, neither have we ascertained this point from any other source. Probably it was at the time when St. Remigius removed the see of Wessex from Dorchester to Lincoln, viz. A.D. 1088.

See Lincoln.

St. Remigius, 1088.

Robert Bloet, 1092.

During this episcopate the County of Cambridge was erected into a separate Diocess, having its see at Ely.

ABBESSES OF ELY.

St. Etheldreda, 673,	dec. June 23, 679.
St. Sexburga,	dec. July 6, 699.
St. Ermenilda,	dec. Feb. 13.
St. Werburga,	dec. Feb. 3.

ABBATS.

Brithnoth, 970,	martyred 981.
Elsin, 981,	dec. 1016.
Leofwin, <i>alias</i> Oschitel,	dec. 1022.
Leofric, 1022,	dec. 1029.
Leofsin, 1029,	dec. Nov. 15, 1044.
Wilfric, 1045,	dec. 1065.
Thurstan, 1066,	dec. 1072.
Theodwin,	dec. Dec. 4, 1075.
The administration of the Abbey granted to Godfrey a monk.	
Simeon, 1082,	Nov. 20, 1093.
Richard, 1100,	June 16, 1107.
Hervey, 1107,	

The Abbacy converted into a Bishoprick, Oct., 1109.

BISHOPS OF ELY.

Name.	Consecration or Appointment.	Decease or Translation.	Monarchs.
1. Hervey, fr. Bangor, <i>Confirmed</i>	Oct., 1106. June 27, —	Aug. 30, 1131. ¹	Hen. I., Stephen.
2. Nigel, <i>Cons.</i>	Oct. 1, 1133.	May 30, 1169. ¹	Stephen, Hen. II.
3. Ridel, <i>Elec.</i>	May 1, 1173.		
<i>Enthr.</i>	May 17, —		
<i>Cons.</i>	Oct. 6, 1174.	Aug. 21, 1189. ¹	Henry II.
4. Wm. Longchamp, <i>Elec.</i>	Sept. 15, 1189.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Dec. 31, —		
<i>Enthr.</i>	Jan. 6, —	Jan. 30, 1197. ²	Richard I.
5. Eustace, <i>Cons.</i>	Mar. 8, 1197-8.	Feb. 5, 1215. ¹	Richard I., John.
6. John of Fountains, <i>Enthr.</i>	Mar. 8, 1220. Mar. 25, —	May 6, 1225. ¹	Henry III.
7. Geoffrey of Burgh, <i>Cons.</i>	June 29, 1225.	Dec. 17, 1228. ¹	Henry III.
8. Hugh Northwold, <i>Cons.</i>	June 12, 1229.	Aug. 6, 1254. ¹	Henry III.
9. Wm. of Kilkenny, <i>Elec.</i>	Oct., 1254.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Aug. 15, 1255.	Sep. 22 or 23, 1256. ³	Henry III.
10. Hugh of Balsham, <i>Cons.</i>	Oct. 14, 1257.	June 16, 1286. ¹	Hen. III., Edw. I.
11. John of Kirkeby, ⁴ <i>Elec.</i>	June 26, 1286.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Sept. 22, —	March 26, 1290. ¹	Edward I.
12. Wm. of Luda, ⁵ <i>Elec.</i>	May 4, 1290.		
<i>Conf.</i>	May —		
<i>Cons. and Enthr.</i>	Oct. 1, —	March 27, 1298. ¹	Edward I.
13. Ralph Walpole, <i>trs. fr. Norwich</i>	July 15, 1299.	March 20, 1302. ¹	Edward I.
14. Robert Orford, <i>Elec.</i>	Apr. 14, 1302.	Jan. 21, 1310. ¹	Edward I., II.
15. John of Ketene, <i>Elec.</i>	Mar. 2, 1310.		
<i>Conf.</i>	July 10, —		
<i>Cons.</i>	Sept. 6, —	Mar. 14, 1316. ¹	Edward II.
16. John Hotham, <i>Conf.</i>	July 20, 1316.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Oct. 3, —	Jan. 14, 1337. ¹	Edward II., III.
17. Simon Montacute, <i>trs. fr. Worcester</i>	1337.	June 20, 1345. ¹	Edward III.
18. Thomas L'Isle, <i>Cons.</i>	1345.	June 23, 1361. ⁶	Edward III.
19. Simon Langham, <i>Cons.</i>	Mar. 20, 1362.	To Cant. 1366. ⁷	Edward III.
20. John Barnet, <i>trs. from</i> Worcester to Bath & Wells, thence hither	1366.	June 7, 1373. ¹	Edward III.
21. Thomas Arundel, <i>Cons.</i>	April 9, 1374.		
<i>Enthr.</i>	April 20, 1376.	To York, 1388. ⁸	Edw. III., Ric. II.

1. Buried in his own Cathedral.

2. In the Abbey of Pymy, or Pinu, Poitiers; his heart at Ely.

3. At Sugho in Spain; his heart at Ely.

4. When elected he was only a Deacon; he was ordained Priest the day before his Consecration.

5. When elected he was a layman, or at best had minor orders only; he was ordained a Deacon in May, and a Priest, Sept. 13.

6. Buried at Avignon.

7. He resigned Canterbury Nov. 17, 1368, being created a Cardinal. He deceased at Avignon, where he was buried, but afterwards his body was removed to Westminster Abbey and interred in St. Benedict's Chapel.

8. To Canterbury 1391, where he deceased Feb. 19, 1413-4, and was buried, but has no memorial.

Name.	Consecration or Appointment.	Decease or Translation.	Monarchs.
22. John Fordham, <i>trs.</i> From Durham	1388.		} Richard II., } Hen. IV.V.VI.
<i>Enthr.</i> Oct. 24, 1389.		Nov. 19, 1425. ¹	
23. Philip Morgan, <i>trs.</i> From Worcester . .	Feb. 27, 1425-6	Oct. 25, 1435. ²	Henry VI.
24. Lewis de Luxemburg, <i>trs.</i> From Rouen . .	1438.	Sept. 18, 1443. ³	Henry VI.
25. Thomas Bouchier, <i>trs.</i> from Worcester	1444.		Henry VI.
<i>Enthr.</i> Mar. 27, 1447.		To Cant. 1454. ⁴	
26. William Gray, <i>Cons.</i>	Sept. 7, 1454.		Hen. VI., Ed. IV. } Ed. IV., V., Ric. } III., Hen. VII.
<i>Enthr.</i> Mar. 20, 1458		Aug. 4, 1478. ¹	
27. John Morton, <i>Cons.</i>	Jan. 31, 1479.	Trans. to Cant. ⁵	}
<i>Enthr.</i> Aug. 29, 1479.		1486.	
28. John Alcock, <i>trs.</i> from Rochester to Wor- cester, thence hither	Oct. 1486.	Oct. 1. 1500. ¹	Henry VII.
29. Richard Redman, <i>trs.</i> from St. Asaph to Exeter, thence hither	1501.	Aug. 24, 1505. ¹	Henry VII.
30. James Stanley	1506.	Mar. 22, 1515. ⁶	Hen. VII., VIII.
31. Nicholas West.	1515.		Henry VIII. } Hen. VIII., Ed. } VI., Mary.
<i>Cons.</i> Oct. 7, 1515.		Apr. 6 or 28, 1533. ⁷	
<i>Enthr.</i> Feb. 21, 1516.		May 10, 1554. ⁷	}
32. Thomas Goodrich, <i>Elec.</i>	March 17, 1534.		
<i>Cons.</i> April 19, 1534.			
33. Thomas Thirlby, <i>trs.</i> from Westminster to Norwich, thence hi- ther	Sept. 15, 1554.	Aug. 26, 1570. ⁸	Mary, Elizabeth.
34. Richard Cox, <i>Cons.</i>	Dec. 21, 1559.	July 22, 1581. ²	Elizabeth.
35. Martin Heton, <i>Elec.</i>	Dec. 28, 1599.		Eliz., James I.
<i>Cons.</i> Feb. 3, 1599-60.		July 14, 1609. ²	
36. Launcelot Andrewes, <i>trs.</i> fr. Chichester . .	Sept. 22, 1609.	To Winch. 1519. ⁹	James I.
37. Nicholas Felton, <i>trs.</i> from Norwich. . .	March 11, 1519.	Oct. 5, 1626. ¹⁰	James I., Chas. I.
38. John Buckeridge, <i>trs.</i> from Rochester . . .	April 17, 1628.	May 23, 1631. ¹¹	Charles I.
39. Francis White, <i>trs.</i> fr. Carlisle to Norwich, thence hither	1631.	Feb. 1637-8. ¹²	Charles I.
40. Matthew Wren, <i>trs.</i> fr. Hereford to Norwich thence hither	April 24, 1638.	April 24, 1667. ¹³	Charles I., II.
41. Benjamin Laney, <i>trs.</i> from Lincoln	June 12, 1667.	Jan. 24, 1674-5. ⁷	Charles II.

1. Buried in his own Cathedral.

2. Buried in the Conventual Church of the Charter-House, London, but has no memorial.

3. His bowels buried at Hatfield, his heart at Rouen, and his body at Ely.

4. Made a cardinal Sep. 18th, 1464. Deceased Mar. 30th, 1486, and buried at Canterbury.

5. Deceased Sept. 15 or 16, 1500, buried at Canterbury.

6. Buried at Manchester.

7. Buried at Lambeth.

8. Buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark.

9. At St. Antholin's, London.

10. In Bromley Church, Kent.

11. In St. Paul's Cathedral.

12. In the Chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

13. In Thirfield Church, Herefordshire.

Name.	Consecration or Appointment.	Decease or Translation.	Monarchs.
42. Peter Gunning, <i>trs.</i> fr. Chichester	Mar. 4, 1674-5.	July 6, 1684. ¹	Charles II.
43. Francis Turner, <i>trs.</i> fr. Rochester	Aug. 23, 1684.	Nov. 2, 1700. ¹	} Chas. II., Jas. } II., Will. III.
44. Simon Patrick, <i>trs.</i> fr. Chichester	July 2, 1691.	May 31, 1707. ¹	Will. III., Anne.
45. John Moore, <i>trs.</i> from Norwich	July 31, 1707.	July 31, 1714. ¹	Anne.
46. William Fleetwood, <i>trs.</i> from St. Asaph	Dec. 18, 1714.	Aug. 4, 1723. ¹	George I.
47. Thomas Greene, <i>trs.</i> fr. Norwich	Sept. 24, 1723.	May 18, 1738. ¹	George I., II.
48. Robert Butts, <i>trs.</i> from Norwich	1738.	Jan. 26, 1747-8. ¹	George II.
49. Sir Thomas Gooch, Bt. <i>trs.</i> from Bristol to Norwich, thence hi- ther	Mar. 11, 1747-8.	Feb. 14, 1754. ²	George II.
50. Matthias Mawson, <i>trs.</i> fr. Llandaff to Chi- chester, thence hi- ther	Mar. 15, 1754.	Nov. 23, 1770. ¹	George II., III.
51. Edmund Keene, <i>trs.</i> fr. Chester	Jan. 2, 1771.	July 6, 1781. ¹	George III.
52. Hon. James Yorke, <i>trs.</i> from St. David's to Gloucester, thence hither	1781.	Aug. 26, 1808. ³	George III.
53. Thomas Dampier, <i>trs.</i> from St. Asaph	Nov. 22, 1808.		George III.
54. —Sparke			
55. —Allen		1845.	
56. Thomas Turton	1845.		

1. Buried in his own Cathedral.

2. In the Chapel of Caius College, Cambridge.

3. At Forthampton in Gloucestershire.

PRIORS OF ELY.

1. Vincent.
2. Henry.
3. William, 1133.
4. Tombert, or Thembert, occurs c. 1144.
5. Alexander, c. 1154.
6. Solomon, occurs in 1163, Abbat of Thorney, 1177.
7. Richard, 1177, was living in 1189.
8. Robt. Longchamp, occurs in 1194, Abbat of St. Mary's, York, 1198.
9. John de Strateshete,¹ Feb. 1197-8.
10. Hugh, occurs in 1200 and 1206.
11. Roger de Brigham, bef. 1215, dec. early in 1229.
12. Ralph, c. Mar. 25, 1229, occurs in 1235.
13. Walter, occurs in Easter-week, }
1241. } dec. May 13, 1259.
14. Robt. de Leverington, occurs Mar. }
6, 1259-60, } dec. Sept. 12, 1271.
15. Henry de Banccis, 1271, dec. Dec., 1273.
16. John de Hemmingston, Jan., 1273-4, dec. Nov. 9, 1288.
17. John de Shepreth.
18. John Saleman, occurs c. 1291, { Promoted to Bishoprick of
 { Norwich, July 15, 1299.²
19. Robert de Orford, 1299, Bishop of Ely, 1302.
20. William de Clare, 1303, dec. 1303.
21. John de Fresingfield, occurs Dec. }
1303, } res. Feb. 16, 1320-1.³
22. John de Crauden, May 20, 1321, dec. Sept. 25, 1341.
23. Alande Walsingham, Oct. 25, 1341, dec. prob. in 1364.
24. William Hathfield.
25. John Bucton, occurs in 1366, dec., 1397.
26. Wm. Walpole, bef. Aug. 10, 1397, res. soon aft., Sept. 20, 1401.
27. William Powcher,⁴ 1401, dec., 1418.
28. Edm. Walsingham, occurs Aug. }
14, 1418, } and in 1424.

1. The first Prior that came in by election; for before that time the Bishops conferred that office according to their will.

2. His father was Salomon, a goldsmith at Ely. In 1319 he was made Lord Chancellor. Dec. July 6, 1325.

3. Dec. after Michaelmas, 1338.

4. Abbat of Walden, Essex. He, in 1413, obtained of Pope John XXIII. the privilege of wearing the mitre, and of using the pastoral staff, and other pontifical ornaments.

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| 29. Peter de Ely, April, 1424, | was Prior, July 10, 1429. |
| 30. William Wells, 1430, | occurs May 3, 1460. |
| 31. Henry Peterborough, occurs July
10, 1462, | } res. July 26, 1478. ¹ |
| 32. Roger Westminster, July 28, 1478, | |
| 33. Robt. Colville, occurs Oct. 30, 1500, | occurs Nov. 15, 1499.
and Aug. 15, 1510, |
| 34. William Witlesey, occurs Sept. 27,
1510, | } and Mar. 20, 1513. |
| 35. William Foliott, | |
| 36. Joh. Cottenham, <i>Conf.</i> Apr. 1, 1516, | occurs in 1516.
dec. bef. 1522. |
| 37. Robt. Wells, <i>alias</i> Steward, 1522, | { surrendered the Monastery and
all its possessions, Nov. 18,
1539. |
| | |

DEANS OF ELY.

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| 1. Robert Wells, <i>alias</i> Steward, Sep.
10, 1541, | } dec. Sept. 22, 1557. |
| 2. Andrew Perne, ² 1557, | |
| 3. John Bell, ³ 1589, | dec. Apr. 26, 1589.
dec. Oct. 31, 1591. |
| 4. Humphrey Tindall, ⁴ 1591, | dec. Oct. 12, 1614. |
| 5. Hen. Cæsar, <i>alias</i> Adelmare, 1614, | dec. June 27, 1636. |
| 6. William Fuller, July 14, 1636, | deprived in 1642. ⁵ |
| 7. (William Beale, nominated but
never instituted.) | |
| 8. Rich. Love, ⁶ instit. Sept. 6, 1660, | dec. Jan., 1661-2. |
| 9. Henry Ferne, ⁷ Feb., 1661-2, | { <i>Cons.</i> Bishop of Chester, Feb.
9, 1661-2. |
| 10. Edw. Martin, ⁸ instit. Mar. 21, 1662, | |
| 11. Fras. Wilford, ⁹ inst. May 20, 1662, | dec. April 28, 1662.
dec. 1667. |

1. Dec. Aug. 10, 1480.
2. Master of St. Peter's College, 1554; buried at Lambeth.
3. Master of Jesus College, 1579.
4. Master of Queens' College, 1579.
5. In March, 1646, the Deanery of Durham was granted to him, but he was never instituted to it; buried at St. Vedast's, Foster Lane, London.
6. Master of Corpus Christi College, 1632; buried in his own College Chapel.
7. Master of Trinity College, Aug. 3, 1660; dec. March 25, 1662, and buried in St. Edmund's Chantry, Westminster Abbey.
8. Master of Queens' College, 1631; buried in his own College Chapel.
9. Master of Corpus Christi College, June 29, 1661; buried in his own College Chapel.

12. Rob. Mapletoft,¹ inst. Aug. 7, 1667, dec. Aug. 20, 1677.
13. John Spencer, instit. Sept. 1677, dec. May 27, 1693.
14. John Lamb, instit. June 22, 1693, dec. Aug. 10, 1708.²
15. Chas. Roderick,³ inst. Oct. 8, 1708, dec. Mar. 25, 1712.
16. Robert Moss, instit. Apr. 30, 1713, dec. Mar. 26, 1729.
17. John Frankland,⁴ instit. Apr. 28, } dec. Sept. 3, 1730.
1729, }
18. Peter Allix, instal. Nov. 21, 1730, dec. Jan. 11, 1758.⁵
19. Hugh Thomas,⁶ inst. July 15, 1758, dec. July 11, 1780.
20. Wm. Cooke,⁷ instit. Aug. 9, 1780, dec. Nov. 21, 1797.
21. William Pearce,⁸ installed Dec.
10, 1797.
22. James Wood,⁹ 1839.
23. George Peacock, 1839.

1. Master of Pembroke Hall, 1664 ; buried in his own College Chapel.
2. Buried in the Chancel of Wethamstead.
3. Head Master of Eton College, 1682, Provost of King's College, Sept. 4, 1689 ; buried in the " Library Vestry," on the South side of his own College Chapel.
4. Dean of Gloucester, 1723, Master of Sidney Sussex College, 1727 ; buried in St. Stephen's Church, Bristol.
5. Buried in the Church of Castle Camps, Cambs.
6. Master of Christ's College, Feb. 18, 1754.
7. Head Master of Eton College, May, 1743, Provost of King's College, March 25, 1772.
8. Master of the Temple, 1787 , of Jesus College, 1789.
9. Master of St. John's College.

PRESENT CATHEDRAL ESTABLISHMENT.

THE LORD BISHOP.

A.D.

Thomas Turton, D.D.	1845.
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THE DEAN.

George Peacock, D.D.	1839.
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CANONS OR PREBENDARIES.

Of the 1st Stall—

" 2nd Stall—John Henry Sparke, M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese	1818.
" 3rd Stall—Henry Fardell, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1819.
" 4th Stall—Edward Bowyer Sparke, M.A., Registrar	.	.	.	.	.	1829.
" 5th Stall—William French, D.D.	.	.	.	.	.	1831.
" 6th Stall—William Selwyn, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1833.
" 7th Stall—John Maddy, D.D.	.	.	.	.	.	1835.
" 8th Stall—John Ashley, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1841.

MINOR CANONS.

John Griffith, B.D.	.	.	.	.	.	1800.
George Millers, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1800.
Solomon Smith, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1833.
William Keating Clay, B.D.	.	.	.	.	.	1838.
David James Stewart, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1843.

HERALDRY.

Arms of the See. Gu. three ducal coronets or. These are derived from the arms of the East Anglian kings. In the cloister staircase leading to the ancient refectory, now the Deanery, they occur with the field azure.

Of the Deanery. Gu. three keys or; the ancient arms of St. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and from him assumed as the arms of the Priory. They occur in one of the windows in the South Aisle of the Presbytery.

ARMS OF THE BISHOPS OF ELY.

1. *Hervey*.—"Herveus gessit in campo azureo duo aurea bacula Episcopalia in modum Crucis S. Andreæ, in capite mitram auream."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 616.

2. *Nigel*.—"Fert gules, in tribus manibus argenteis, coronam, clavem, crumenam aureas."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 618.

3. *Geoffrey Ridel*.—"Fert unum cantonem in scuto or."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 631.

4. *William Longchamp*.—"Arma Willelmi de Long-campo sunt Palye or, verrey argent & asur."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 632. "His arms correspond with those of his name, in an old MS. of Heraldry in the Library of King's College."—*Cole, apud Bentham*.

5. *Eustace*.—"Eustachius Episcopus in scuto de ermines fert un cheveron azur, & tres billets gules."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 633. Cole corrects or for ermines.

6. *John of Fountains*.—"Fert Solem, Lunam & 7. stellas or in campo azureo."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 634. "These arms," Cole says, "seem to be merely chimerical and fanciful, and not at all in the style of Heraldry;" they are however adduced in the *Encycl. Metr., Art. HERALDRY*, and blazoned,—"*azure*, in chief, the sun in his splendor, the moon in her complement; in base, the 7 stars, 1, 2, 1, 2, 1, or."

7. *Geoffrey of Burgh*.—"Fert 3. flores ermines in campo azureo."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 635. "*Az.* 3 Fleurs de Lis Erm."—*Cole*. Several families of the name Bury still bear erm. on a bend az. three fleurs-de-lis or.

8. *Hugh Northwold*.—"Fert in duobus scutis suis arma S. Etheldredæ et S. Edmundi."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 635. These "seem to be fictitious; or probably taken from some old Seal, where... the Arms of Ely and St. Edmund's Bury Abby might be depicted."—*Cole*. The latter are, az. three ducal crowns, each pierced with two arrows in saltire, or.

9. *William de Kilkenney*.—"Fert 5. Lunulas or. in scuto gules"—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 636.

10. *Hugh de Balsham*.—"Fert 3. palos perpendiculares."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 637. Or, three pallets gu. are the Arms borne by St. Peter's College, Cambridge, (the Foundation of this Bishop), with the addition of a bordure of the last mitry of the field, derived from the coat of Ely See.

11. *John Kirkeby*.—"Fert in scuto argenteo leonem rapacem sables."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 637.

12. *William de Luda*.—"Fert in superiore parte scuti unum chequer or & arg. in inferiore leopardi faciem in campo nigro."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 638. Checquy or and argent is false heraldry.

13. *Ralph Walpole*.—"Fert aurum super fessam inter duas chevrons sabl. tres crosetas aureas."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 639. Or, on a fess between two chevronels sa., three crosses crosslet of the field, are still the arms of Walpole Earl of Orford.

14. *Robert Orford*.—"Fert tres coronas or tribus clavibus or perforatas, in campo gules."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 640.

15. *John of Ketene* (Ketton?)—"Fert tres mitras or in campo nigro."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 640.

16. *John Hotham*.—"Arma Joannis Hotham sunt barrulæ octo partium asuræ et argenteæ in uno cantone aureo unus mertlelus sables."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 643. They occur thus in the westernmost severity of Bishop Hotham's work. In the East window of S. Mary's, Fen Ditton, near Cambridge, are these arms; barry of eight, argent and azure, a canton of the former; Cole says, "where they are thus blazoned, *Barry of 10 Ar. & Az. on a canton Or. a Martlet Sable*. They were there in 1745."

17. *Simon de Montacute*.—"Fert 3. bendas undulantes azur in campo or. & in medio inscutum tribus rhombis depictum."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 649. Ar. three lozenges conjoined in fess gu. are the present arms of De Montacute.

18. *Thomas de Lisle*.—"Fert in tribus rundellis tres Reges Coloniæ or in campo gules."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 652. "A mere fiction; his true Coat as I took it in 1747, from an original Seal of his in the Archives of C. C. College, in Cambridge, is a *Chevron between 3 Trefoils slip'd*. This agrees with the Arms of the family of *Lisle*, as I find in the aforesaid Manuscript of Heraldry, which are thus blazoned, *Gules, a Chevron inter 3 Leaves Or, slip'd Vert*: so that the colours are also recovered."

19. *Simon Langham*.—"Arma ejus sunt Tignum pinnis decoratum de rubro, inter Trifolia viridia tria."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 663. Or, a chev. embattled gu. betw. three trefoils slipped vert.

20. *John Barnet*.—"Arma Joannis Barnet Episcopi sunt unum

Saltorium sables, & in scuti capite facies Leopardi ejusdem coloris in campo argenteo."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 664.

21. *Thomas Arundel*.—"Arma Thomæ Arundell sunt in rubeo campo bordurato bordurâ ingradatâ aureâ Leo rapax ejusdem metalli."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 664. "*Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. Gules, a Lion rampant Or* : [for Arundel]; *2nd. and 3rd. Checquy Or and Azure* : [for Warren]; *all within a bordure engrailed Argent*."—*Cole*. Example, at All Saints', Landbeach, on a shield preserved from a stall, and now hung against the East wall of the Chancel.

22. *John Fordham*.—"Arma Joannis Fordham sunt in campo nigro unum cheveron inter tres cruces floratas aureas."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 666. Sa. a chev. betw. three crosses patonce or. Examples, at St. Mary's, Great Shelford, on the Font; and on the Brass of Thomas Pattesle, Archdeacon of Ely, d. 1411.

23. *Philip Morgan*.—"Arma Philippi Morgan sunt tria capita lancearum argentea & sanguine tincta in campo sables."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 666. Sa. three spear heads ar. embrued.

24. *Lewis Lushburg*, or *Luxemburgh*.—"Fert chekey ar. & az. in le argent est un rondel gules in lazur est un flore de lice or."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 668. "No doubt his real arms are—*Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. Argent, a Lion rampant, Quevefurcheè, Gules, crowned, Or, for Luxemburgh, 2nd. and 3rd. Gules: a Star of 12 Points Argent* ;—at least the Lion of Luxemburgh certainly belongs to him."—*Cole*.

25. *Thomas Bowcer*, or *Bourchier*.—"Arma Thomæ Bowcer sunt una Crux ingradata gules, inter quatuor water-bogets sables, in campo aureo."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 671. "*Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. Arg. a Cross engrailed Gu. inter 4 Water-Bougets, Sab.* [for Bourchier] *2nd. and 3rd. Gul. a Fesse Arg. int. 10 or 12 Billets Or* ; [for —] *all within a Bordure Azure*."

26. *William Gray*.—"Fert in campo rubeo bordurato bordurâ ingradatâ argenteâ Leonem rapacem ejusdem metalli."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 672. The bearing of the present Earl Grey. Examples, in glass, in the North-east Window of the North Choir aisle, and in stone, in the same Window and adjacent ones. A fragment of the same coat, on *paper*, supposed to be a print from a woodcut, still adheres to the North-east pillar of the Choir.

27. *John Morton*.—"Fert quaterniatim gules & ermines unum caput capræ argent."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 673. "Not sufficiently explicit : they should be thus blazoned, *Quarterly Gules & Ermine on the 1st. and 4th. a Goat's Head erased Argent*."—*Cole*. This coat occurs in one of the windows of St. John's College Chapel, Cambridge, with the inscription,—"*Thomas Morton, Episc. Dunelmensis, 1632*." In several of the windows at St. John's, Waterbeach, are quarries painted with a pastoral staff and initials of this Bishop.

28. *John Alcock*.—"Fert mitram inter tria caprarum capita."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 675. "*Alcocke's Arms*.—Argent, a miter or, upon a Fess, between 3 Cocks' heads eras'd sable, crested armed and jeo-lopp'd Gules."—*MS. copy of Sherman's History of Jesus College, in the College Library, cited by Mr. Woodham*. The latter is the true bearing. In the carved work of All Saints', Landbeach, occurs a shield with the charge three cocks' heads erased. Bishop Alcock was very fond of the cock standing on a globe, as his rebus; it occurs repeatedly in his Chauntry, on different parts of Jesus College, and on the woodwork at Landbeach; also in quarries at St. Mary's, Madingley, St. John's, Waterbeach, and elsewhere.

29. *Richard Redman*.—"Arma sunt tria pulvinaria."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 675. Cole says that this bearing was formerly in many parts of the Cathedral of St. Asaph, which this Prelate had fitted up. "Gules, three cushions Argent, according to Izacke, Ermine according to Westcote, tasseled Or."—*Oliver's History of Exeter*. Ermine seems correct. On his tomb in the North Choir Aisle we have Quarterly 1st. and 4th. gu. a lion rampant, 2nd. and 3rd. three cushions erm. tasseled. The above quarterly coat dimidiated, also impales Exeter and Ely.

30. *James Stanley*.—"Fert quaterniatim duos Leones rapaces & sex rhombos."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 676. Ar. a chev. sa. betw. 3 roses gu. seeded, slipped, and leaved proper. These arms occur repeatedly on his Chapel in the South Chauntry Aisle.

31. *Nicholas West*.—"Fert unum cheveron inter tres rosas."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 676.

32. *Thomas Goodrich*.—Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. Ar. on a fess gu. betw. two lions passant gardant sa. a fleur-de-lis [of the field?] betw. as many crescents or. for Goodrich; 2nd. and 3rd. ar. on a chev. engr. betw. three trefoils slipped sa. (az?), as many crescents or. for Williamson. This coat occurs on the outside under a window of the Palace.

33. *Thomas Thirlby*.—"This Bishop having (as I suppose) no paternal Arms, at first bare a *Rebus* or *Device* instead of Arms, viz. *Per Pale Argent & Gules, a capital Tau counterchanged*; that Letter being the initial one of both his Names; but afterwards he bare *Vert, 10 Escallops Argent*; which coat, I imagine, he had obtained a grant for."—*Blomefield's History of the Bishops of Norwich, cited by Cole apud Bentham*.

34. *Richard Cox*.—"Argent, 3 Cocks Gules, on a Chief Azure, a Pale Or, charged with a Rose Gules, inter 2 Ostrich Feathers Argent."—*Hatcher's MS. of the Provost and Fellows of King's College, cited by Cole in Bentham*. Burke gives, "Cox (London; granted in 1761). Ar. three cocks gu. two and one, crowned or, on a chief az. a pale charged

with a rose of the second, betw. two ostrich feathers of the first."—*General Armory*.

35. *Martin Heton*.—Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. ar. on a bend engr. sa. three bulls' heads cabossed of the field, for Heton; 2nd. and 3rd. a man's head betw. three fleurs-de-lis sa. a mullet for a difference.

36. *Lancelot Andrewes*.—"Argent. on a Bend engrailed, cotised Sable, 3 Mullets pierced Argent."—*Cole*.

37. *Nicholas Felton*.—"Gules, 2 Lions [in pale] passant Ermine, crowned Or, and a Mullet in the dexter Chief Argent, for a Difference."—*Cole*.

38. *John Buckeridge*.—"Or 2 Pales [? sable] & 5 Cross Crosslets fitché en Saltire Gules."—*Cole*.

39. *Francis White*.—"Gules, a Cheveron between 3 Boars' Heads coupé Argent."—*Cole*. "Armed or."—*Burke*

40. *Matthew Wren*.—"Argent, a Cheveron inter 3 Lions' Heads erased Sable, on a Chief Gules, 3 Cross Crosslets Or."—*Cole*.

41.—*Benjamin Laney*.—Or, on a bend betw. two fleurs-de-lis gu. a lion passant of the field.—*Monument*.

42. *Peter Gunning*.—Gu. on a fess betw. three doves ar. three crosses pattee of the field.—*Monument, S. C. A.*

43. *Francis Turner*.—"Or, a Lion rampant inter 3 Crosses moline Gules."—*Cole*.

44. *Simon Patrick*.—Gu. three pallets vair; on a chief or, a lion rampant armed and langued of the first.—*Monument, N. C. A.*

45. *John Moore*.—Erm. on a chev. az. three cinquefoils or.—*Monument, S. C. A.*

46. *William Fleetwood*.—Per pale nebule az. and or, 6 martlets counterchanged.—*Monument, N. C. A.*

47. *Thomas Greene*.—Az. three bucks trippant or.—*Monument, S. C. A.*

48. *Robert Butts*.—Az. on a chev. betw. three estoiles of six points or, as many lozenges gu.—*Monument, S. C. A.*

49. *Thomas Gooch*.—Per pale, ar. and sa. a chev. betw. three talbots passant counterchanged; on a chief gu. as many leopards' faces or.

50. *Matthias Mawson*.—Per bend sinister erm. and erms. a lion rampant ar.—*Monument, N. C. A.*

51. *Edmund Keene*.—Ar. a talbot passant sa. collared or; on a chief indented az. 3 cross crosslets of the third.

52. *James Yorke*.—Ar. on a saltire az. a bezant.

53. *Thomas Dampier*.—Or. a lion rampant sa. on a chief gu. a label of five points ar.

54. *Sparke*.—Checquy or and vert a bend erm.—*Monument in Bishop West's Chantry*.

HISTORY.

Of the Conversion of the East Angles to Christianity.

THE kingdom of East Anglia, comprising the modern Counties of Cambridge with the Isle of Ely, Norfolk, and Suffolk, was established under Uffa, about the year 575. The account of its conversion to Christianity is given so succinctly by the Venerable Bede, that it will be best to transcribe his very words. After relating how, A.D. 627, Edwin, king of Northumberland, had followed the example of Ethelbert, king of Kent, in submission to the Gospel, and had erected a basilica at Almonbury or Tanfield, he proceeds:—"So great, moreover, was his devotedness to the advancement of the Truth, that he also induced the king of the East Angles, Eorpwald, son of Redwald, to renounce the superstitions of idolatry, and with his province to embrace the Faith and Sacraments of CHRIST. Redwald indeed some time before this had, in Kent, been made a partaker of the Christian Sacraments, yet to no purpose; for on his return home he was perverted by his wife and certain evil teachers, and so falling from the integrity of his profession, his latter state was worse than the former; insomuch that, like the Samaritans of old, he made a shew of serving CHRIST and the gods whom he had before worshipped, and so in the same building he had both a table for the Christian Sacrifice, and an altar for the victims of devils.¹ Now this same Redwald, though he did ignobly, was of noble birth; being the son of Tytilus, the son of Uffa, from whom the East Anglian kings are called Uffingæ.

"But Eorpwald, not long after his reception of the Faith, was slain by Ricbert, a pagan, and then for three years the province was involved in error, until Sigebert his brother attained the sovereignty,—a thorough Christian and a very learned man, who in Eorpwald's lifetime had been an exile in Gaul, and having there been made partaker of the Sacraments,² his care so soon as he assumed the government was to impart them to his entire province. This design was most righteously furthered by Felix a bishop, who from Burgundy, where he was born and consecrated, came to the primate Honorius, and

1. "Atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium CHRISTI, et arulam ad victimas dæmoniorum."

2. "Fidei Sacramentis imbutus est," is St. Bede's forcible expression.

having made known his desire, was sent to preach to this nation of the Angles the Word of Life. Nor were his wishes ungratified; but on the contrary this pious tiller of the spiritual field reaped an abundant harvest of believers; insomuch that, according to the augury of his name, he brought the whole province into freedom from the depths of sin and misery, and led them to the Faith, and to works of righteousness, and to the gift of everlasting happiness. He himself received Dunwich as his see, and having enjoyed the spiritual government of the kingdom for seventeen years, he there ended his days in peace."¹

That the light of the Gospel thus auspiciously introduced might be preserved with the greater safety, it was the early care of Sigebert to found a school for the education of youth, after the model of those which he had seen in France.² Tradition makes this institution the early original of the University of Cambridge, and to this day, in the annual Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors, the name of Sigebert is first recited; but it is more likely that the school was at Dunwich, where Felix, who assisted in its establishment, resided, and near to which the village of Felixstowe still seems to preserve the bishop's memory.³

In the reign of Sigebert three monasteries were founded in the East-Anglian province; one at Burgh Castle,⁴ another at St. Edmund's Bury,⁵ and a third at Soham.⁶ Of churches we have as yet no record, excepting the one at Cratendune, about a mile from the present city of Ely, said to have been erected by king Ethelbert at the instance of St. Augustine, and destroyed in a hostile invasion by Penda, king of Mercia.⁷ This account of its foundation is exceedingly improbable, for, as Mr. Wharton remarks,⁸ S. Augustine appears not to have had any communication with the East Angles. Nevertheless it is most probable that a church did exist in the place alluded to, though its site is not now exactly known; only "the name of the old town is still preserved in a field about a mile south of the present city, called *Cratendon Field*."

Sigebert was succeeded on the throne by Egric, and he in turn by Anna.⁹ Thomas, a deacon, was promoted by Archbishop Honorius into the place of the excellent Felix, and after him Bertgils, sur-named Boniface, enjoyed the see.¹⁰

1. S. Bedæ, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 15.

2. *Ibid.* iii. 18.

3. See Churton's *Early English Church*, p. 55.

4. *Anciently Cnobheresburg.* S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iii. 19.

5. *Bedrichsuurde* or *Betrychesworde.* Liber Eliensis, MS. Conf. S. Bedæ iii, 18.

6. *Seham.* Liber Elien.

7. *Hist. Eliensis*, apud Wharton *Angl. Sacr.* i. 594.

8. *Ibid.* note (b).

9. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iii. 18.

10. *Ibid.* iii. 20.

Of the Foundation of the Monastery.

King Anna, whose accession took place A.D. 636, is described by St. Bede as "a good man, happy in a good and saintly family," "a very good man, and the father of a most worthy offspring."¹ He took to wife Hereswytha, sister of the Abbess St. Hilda, and had by her two sons, Adulphus and Jurminus, and four daughters, Sexburga the eldest, Ethelburga, Etheldreda, and Withburga.² Blessed as he was in these children, he did not live to see them in the stricter paths of sanctity which they ultimately chose, but fell in battle against the cruel Penda, leaving his crown to his brothers Adelbert and Ethelwold, and his son Adulphus, successively. After his decease his queen grew weary of the world, and withdrawing to a monastery abroad, awaited a more abiding crown.³ Of his daughters, Ethelburga became Abbess of Barking in Essex, and Withburga foundress of the Nunnery of East Dereham in Norfolk.

Etheldreda, whose history⁴ we must pursue before that of her elder sister Sexburga, was born at Exning on the borders of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, and under the care of her parents grew up equally in religious as in personal favour. She early set her inclinations on a life of celibacy, but the authority of her father induced her to accept⁵ the profered hand of Tonbert, prince of the South Gervii, or inhabitants of the fen country, who bestowed the Isle of Ely on her as her dower. Nevertheless, for three years Etheldreda and her husband abstained from the nuptial bed, and at the end of that period Tonbert died. Thereupon Etheldreda entrusted the care of her possessions to Ovin, a most faithful steward, intending thenceforth to devote herself to religious meditation and offices. But when Egfrid, son of Oswy king of Northumberland, sought her in marriage she again listened to the entreaties of her uncle Ethelwold, for her father was now deceased, and once more submitted to a union. She still prevailed to maintain her resolutions of chastity, until after twelve

1. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iii. 7. 18.

2. *Hist. Elien.*, 595. Erkenwald Founder and Abbat of Chertsey Monastery, and fourth Bishop of London, is by some esteemed another son of Anna, but this is very doubtful.

3. *Ibid.*

4. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iv. 19; *Hist. Elien.* 597—601; Bentham, etc.

5. The principal events of St. Etheldreda's life are sculptured on the capitals of eight pillars in the Octagon. The first, at the North-west angle, represents her marriage to Tonbert, not to king Egfrid, "because," as Mr. Milner remarks, "it was that which had a more particular relation with the Church of Ely, by giving the foundress possession of the site of it. Moreover her father and mother appear to be present, which they were not at her second marriage." See Carter's *Ancient Painting and Sculpture*, p. 4.

years when she got leave to retire from her husband's court, for Egfrid had by this time succeeded to his father's throne, and to enter the monastery of Coldingham.¹ Of this establishment Ebba, the king's aunt, was Superior, and here Etheldreda received the veil from St. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York.² Among others who followed the example of her retirement, was Ovin her minister; he became a monk at Lastingham in Yorkshire, where St. Chad presided over a religious house, before being promoted to the bishopric of Lichfield. To the latter city he removed with his superior, attending him constantly, and being the monk in waiting when the intimation of his approaching decease was conveyed to him, which St. Bede so touchingly relates.³ Where Ovin himself died we do not know, but at Hadenham near Ely there was found several years since the fragment of what was most probably his monument: a square stone in which the stem of a broken cross remained, and bearing this inscription—

✠ LVCEM · TVAM · OVINO · DA · DEUS · ET · REQUIĒ · AMEN.⁴

Egfrid after a while repented the leave of retirement which he had given to his queen, and set out for Coldingham with the purpose of securing her person. But Etheldreda fled at his approach, shaping her course towards Ely, and when on the point of being retaken she was, as her historian relates, preserved by miraculous interposition. She had rested, with her two companions, on an eminence near the sea, and at this point Egfrid overtook her; but an extraordinary inundation flowed in, and surrounded the hill,⁵ and the king interpreting this as a divinely-sent obstacle to his designs, presently withdrew, and returning to York, took as his wife Ermenburga, a person of very different temper from his former bride. Etheldreda, thus at liberty to pursue her journey, continued it towards Ely, another supernatural event happening by the way. She had laid herself down to sleep, while her attendants watched, and having fixed her staff into the ground, was surprised to find on awakening that it had put forth leaves and shoots.⁶ It subsequently

1. Called by St. Bede *Coludi Urbs*. It is on the coast of Berwick, where a neighbouring promontory is still called St. Ebb's Head.

2. The subject of the second capital.

3. *H. Eccl.* iv. 3.

4. "Thy light and rest, O LORD, vouchsafe to Ovinus. Amen." The piety of Mr. Bentham caused this most interesting memorial to be removed from Hadenham, where it had long served as a horseblock, to the Cathedral, where it is now deposited in the Nave, at the West end of the North Aisle.

5. As sculptured on the fourth capital.

6. On the third capital. The order of the sculptures does not correspond with the narrative of the monk of Ely.

grew to be a large and flourishing tree, and the place of it long preserved the saint's memory under the name of Etheldredestow. After a long and tedious route, of which no further particulars are recorded, the virgin travellers arrived at Ely.

The first design of Etheldreda was to rebuild the Church of St. Mary at Cratendune, and to establish a Monastery there; but another and more eligible situation offering itself, she laid the foundations of a new structure on the site of the present Cathedral, A.D. 673.¹ Her brother Adulphus, who had then succeeded to the throne, assisted in bearing the expense, and St. Wilfrid having fallen into disgrace with Egfrid and his new queen, and followed Etheldreda to Ely, aided the building by his great architectural knowledge. When the works were completed he solemnly instituted the foundress as the first Superior,² and admitted the other members of her society; and in doing this he was not infringing the rights of the East-Anglian Bishop, from whose ordinary jurisdiction the Monastery of Ely was from its foundation exempt.

The Abbess Etheldreda now devoted herself to a life of the strictest austerities:—"she would not wear linen, but only woollen vestments; while seldom, except on the eves of the greater Festivals, as Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Epiphany, did she indulge in the warm bath; and even then it was after all the rest, and when, by the offices of herself and attendants, the other servants of CHRIST who were present had been first washed. Rarely, but on the principal Feasts, or because of some necessity unusually stringent, did she partake of more than one meal in a day; and ever, when no unwonted infirmities prevented, she remained at prayers in the Church from the time of the morning assembly until daybreak. There are those who relate, that in the presence of all her religious she, through the spirit of prophecy, both foretold the pestilence of which herself should die, and also intimated the number of those that would be carried off by it from her own Monastery. Then, seven years after receiving the rank of an Abbess, she was taken from the midst of her own; but her body was interred among them in a wooden coffin, in the place and in the manner which she had herself appointed."³

In estimating the character of one long numbered with the Church's Saints, we must be careful not to censure any of those lines of conduct which the very strictest among us would hesitate to counsel at the present day. For instance, the preservation of

1. Anglo-Sax. Chron.

2. The subject of the fifth capital.

3. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iv. 19. St. Etheldreda's death and burial are sculptured on the sixth capital.

chastity in wedlock, which forms so remarkable a point in St. Etheldreda's history, would now be held contrary to the design of that holy state, and an austerity not necessarily conducive to the increase of personal holiness. Yet in past ages the Canons of the Church provided for the frequent occurrence of such a case, allowing that, until the actual consummation of matrimony, either of the parties should be at liberty to recede in order to embrace a continent and religious life; nor could the party so deserted complain of any injury, being at liberty to make a free choice as soon as the other had entered into permanent engagements of another nature.¹ And when such a writer as Wheatley, who is in every body's hand, is found to characterize our Saint's conduct in this matter as "moroseness," and the "*pretence* of great sanctity," it is necessary to remember that in her particular case both marriages were against her early aspirations, while Tonbert at least, if not Egfrid also, fell easily into her designs; and that, generally, the preservation of virginity was in those days held in the highest honour, as may be seen from the books which St. Ambrose, one of the four great Doctors of the Church, wrote upon the subject, and from the similar treatise of our own St. Aldhelm, and the hymn of Venerable Bede.²

The Abbess Etheldreda departed to her rest on the 23rd of June, A.D. 679, and was succeeded in the government of the Monastery by her sister Sexburga, widow of Earconbert, king of Kent.³ The principal event of her rule was the *translation* of her sister's body from the cemetery of the nuns to an honourable place in the Conventual Church. St. Bede thus relates the ceremony:—"When Etheldreda had been buried sixteen years, it pleased the Abbess Sexburga that her body should be raised and placed in a new coffin, and transferred to the Church. She ordered therefore certain of the brethren to search for a block of stone from which a coffin might be hewn; and these having taken a vessel, (for the country of Ely is on all sides surrounded by waters and meres, and contains but few largish stones), arrived at a deserted little town, not far from the place which in the language of the Angles is called Grantchester. There they presently found without its walls a coffin of white marble, exquisitely wrought, and fitted with a lid of the same material. From this they perceived that GOD had prospered their journey, and when they had offered a thanksgiving, they

1. See Mr. Milner's remarks on this subject, in Carter, p. 5.

2. S. Ambrosii *de Virginibus* libri tres. S. Aldhelmi *Liber de laude Virginitatis*. S. Bedæ *H.E.* iv. 20.

3. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iii. 8.

returned to the Monastery. Now when the body of the holy virgin, the bride of CHRIST, was brought out from its open sepulchre, it was found as free from corruption as if she had died or been buried on that very day; a fact which Bishop Wilfrid, whom we have before named, and many others of their own knowledge attest....Moreover, all the linens in which the body was wrapped appeared entire, and so new that they seemed to have been but then folded around her chaste limbs....And it happened that by the touch of these shrouds, not only devils were driven out of possessed persons, but other infirmities also were at times healed. Even the coffin in which she had been first buried was reported to have cured certain whose eyes were diseased; for they came and laid their heads against it and prayed, and their sufferings whether from pain or blindness were speedily removed. The Nuns therefore washed the body, and wrapping it in fresh cloths carried it into the Church: there it was placed in the coffin which had been brought for it, and remains to this day held in the greatest reverence. As for the coffin it was found as wondrously adapted to the virgin body as if it had been specially prepared for it; and the place for the head, separately wrought, was most exactly measured to the needful size."¹

This translation of St. Etheldreda's body² took place on the 17th of October, 695, and is still commemorated in our Church's calendar. The great festivity with which its anniversary was once celebrated is the reason why St. Luke's day, the 18th, is not preceded by any vigil.

Sexburga,³ the second Abbess, deceased July 6th, 699,⁴ and was buried beside her sister in the Conventual Church. Her daughter *Ermenilda*,⁵ widow of Wulfere, king of Mercia, and at the time Abbess of the Monastery of Sheppey in Kent, was elected her successor, and departing hence on Feb. 18th, though in what year is not known, her body was interred next to that of her saintly mother.

The fourth Abbess was *Werbunga*,⁶ Ermenilda's daughter, who

1. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iv. 19.

2. Represented on the eighth capital. Here again the chronology does not regulate the order of the sculptures. The subject of the seventh capital is the liberation of a captive from prison by the joint offices of St. Etheldreda and St. Benedict. The date of this event is five centuries later than the Translation. The whole eight sculptures are etched by Mr. Carter with extreme fidelity, and explained by some very valuable letter-press from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Milner.

3. *Hist. Elien.* 595.

4. Cressy's *Ch. H.* xx. 17.

5. *Hist. El.* 596.

6. *Ibid.*

had also the rule of several religious houses in Mercia, as well as of that at Sheppey, and resided first at one then at another. Her decease took place on the 3rd of Feb., but the year is not recorded; and her body being first buried at her Monastery of Hanbury in Staffordshire, was afterwards, through fear of Danes, removed to Chester.

It is remarkable that though St. Etheldreda's Monastery enjoyed a regular succession of Abbesses, and an observance of its order and discipline for one hundred and ninety-seven years, yet after St. Werburga the name of no one of its superiors is preserved. Protected by its situation in the midst of waters, meres, and fens, it was little molested by external troubles until the year 870, when the Isle of Ely being captured by the Danes under Hubba, the Religious, as well Nuns as Monks, were put to the sword, and the Monastery and its Church were plundered and burnt.¹ The neighbouring establishment of Medeshamsted or Peterborough shared a similar fate.²

Of the Restoration of the Monastery.

At this point it will be sufficient to commence a more succinct narration of our history. An entire century elapsed before any steps were taken for a thorough restoration of Ely Monastery. At the close of that period Edgar "the peaceful" sat upon the throne of England, and one of the most distinguished living Prelates was St. Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester. He is described³ as "a great builder of Churches, and of various other works," and the Saxon Chronicler⁴ relates how he came to the king, Edgar, "and begged of him that he would give him all the Minsters which heathen men had formerly broken down, because he would restore them: and the king cheerfully granted it." Accordingly he repaired the Monastery of St. Mary at Winton, and founded among others those at Peterborough and Thorney.⁵ "He purchased," we are told, "and for no small sum, a certain spot called Ely, where there had been originally a Monastery of Etheldreda, Saint and Virgin, which having been destroyed by the Danes the place had become royal property. Here he established Monks, and instituted Brythnothus, the prepositus of the old Monastery of Wynton, Abbat, erecting buildings there."⁶

1. *Hist. El.* 602.

2. *Sax. Chron.* sub. an.

3. *Wolstani Vita S. Athelwoldi.*

4. *Sub. an.* 963.

5. *Ibid.* *Wolstan.*

6. Rudborne, cited by Professor Willis; "Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral," p. 8.

Hitherto, in the religious houses of the Saxons, the rules observed were those only which were given by the several founders, while both Monks and Nuns had resided in the same establishment; now however the sexes were separated, and the Benedictine rule was generally received.¹ The number of Monks on St. Athelwold's foundation does not appear, nor do we know the site of the Church which from St. Etheldreda's time pertained to the establishment. Abbat Simeon the eighth successor of Brithnoth was the first who commenced the erection of our present structure, as his brother Bishop Walkelin was the first who began the building of the present Cathedral of Winchester; the Transepts are all that remain of his work, and probably all that he erected. Their date being ascertained, viz. from A.D. 1081 to 1093, they deserve a careful examination, and should be compared with the contemporary Transepts of Walkelin.² To Simeon succeeded Abbat Richard, who probably built the Choir, and the central Tower at the intersection of the body and arms of the Church. The length of the Choir, it would seem, was equal to that of each Transept.

From the Conversion of the Abbacy into a Bishoprick.

In the time of Harvey, the next Abbat, another Diocess was formed from that of Lincoln, by taking out of its jurisdiction the county of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely. The new See was fixed at the latter place, and thus the Abbacy of St. Athelwold's foundation became also a Bishopric, and the Conventual Church which Simeon had begun was made a Cathedral as well. From this time the number of Monks was generally about fifty, though the regular complement was seventy; of these the chief, in subordination to the Bishop, was the Prior, who had the superintendence over all the inferior members; and next—the Subprior, or Prior's deputy, to assist him when present and to act for him in his absence. Other officers were, the Sacrist who had the care of the books and vestments, plate, and ornaments belonging to the Church; the Cellarer who procured all the necessaries for the living of the Monks; the Chamberlain who provided their clothes, beds, and bedding; the Almoner who distributed the charities of the Monastery; the Precentor who regulated the singing and the Choristers; the Hosteller who entertained strangers; the Infirmarer who had the charge of the sick; and the Treasurer.

1. See Fox's "English Monasteries."

2. See some comparison of their features in the "Arch. Hist of Winchester Cathedral," chap ii

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 The building of the Cathedral was advanced by Bishop Harvey and his successor Bishop Nigel, under the latter of whom the Nave was finished before A.D. 1174. The Church had now the form of a cross, with a long stem and three equal arms. Bishop Ridel, between the years 1174 and 1189 added to the plan a Western Transept and Tower, which his successor Bishop Longchamp completed. In the episcopate of this prelate the Romanesque was rapidly giving way to the Pointed style, early indications of which may be seen in the upper portions of the new work both within and without. Bishop Eustachius erected the Galilee porch between the years 1197 and 1220, while between 1229 and 1254 Bishop Northwold extended the Choir eastwards, adding six new severies or bays to its length. Both these portions of the Cathedral belong to the first period of Pointed Architecture. Under Bishop Hotham the erection of the Lady Chapel was commenced in the second-pointed style, A.D. 1321, the work being entrusted to Alan de Walsingham a most skilful architect, who was Subprior at the time. In the following year the great central Tower fell, and in falling crushed the three severies of the Choir which belonged to the old Romanesque portion of the Church. No attempt was ever made to rebuild this Tower, but the four piers on which it stood were entirely removed, and arches being thrown across from one to the other of the eight pillars which stood next to them, the present Octagon, as it is called, was raised thereon. This part has a wooden groining out of which rises a lantern of the same material, the whole being covered externally with lead. The three ruined bays of the Choir were rebuilt by Bishop Hotham, and at his own expense, but the Lady Chapel was not completed until the episcopate of Bishop L'Isle.

In the year 1380 an octagonal story flanked with four turrets was added to the great West Tower. This seems to have given the Tower a sway towards the North West, and accordingly in A.D. 1405, its piers were strengthened; they were further cased with stone A.D. 1454. Of the time at which the North Western Transept fell we have no record, though the character of the vast buttress which occupies a great portion of the site of the West wall shews that it must have been at an early period; it was probably before the middle of the fifteenth century. Bishop Alcock's Chantry was commenced A.D. 1488, and that of Bishop West was erected in 1534.¹

1. The Monastery of Ely was surrendered A.D. 1541, and in lieu of the Prior and Monks were established a Dean and eight Prebendaries. St. Etheldreda's Church and Monastery were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; St. Athelwold's to St. Peter and St. Etheldreda; but the dedication of the Cathedral has been, since the Reformation, to the HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

We have now related briefly the history of the fabrick of Ely Minster, and it only remains to notice the various arrangements for publick worship which have from time to time prevailed in it. The Choir originally extended from the Eastern extremity of Bishop Hotham's work, under the Octagon, to the second pillars of the Nave, against which two niches, one on either side, still mark its boundary. Beyond the Choir was the Presbytery of Bishop Northwold, where stood the shrines of St. Etheldreda and her holy relatives. In 1770 this disposition was altered, and the Choir reduced to the narrow limits of the ancient Presbytery, an arrangement which still prevails, though happily about to be upset. It is now proposed to lengthen the Choir westward, by including within it the three severies of Bishop Hotham, a vast improvement on the existing plan, though it may be questioned whether a return to the original situation of the Choir would not be a still more desirable change. It is said that the space under the Octagon would in such a case be cut up, which is true; but at present this vast area only seems to "measure" the Cathedral, and so reduce its apparent length; and if this be so, the effect of extending the Choir across it would be to do greater justice to the splendid perspective of the Church. The miserable organ screen will be replaced by one of light and open character, the organ itself being placed in the North Triforium. The hideous walls by which the Aisles of the Transepts are partitioned off will be removed; but as vestries are necessary for the several members of the Cathedral, one of these Aisles, as the Western in the South Transept will probably be devoted to them, each sacristy being surrounded by a parclose of oak or stone. The Nave of this Cathedral is at present used for the Sunday Sermons, the congregations of the two Parishes in Ely resorting thither, and joining the worshippers at the Cathedral who leave the Choir at the conclusion of the Nicene Creed. This arrangement will, it is said, be discontinued; let us hope only by the placing of all the Laity in the Nave, until they approach the Eucharistic Feast; when, and when only, according to the universal rule of Church Arrangement, they are allowed to enter the Choir. The present unworthy Font is to be superseded by one of more befitting character, which placed in the central passage of the Cathedral, near to its western door, will symbolize the entrance into the Spiritual Church, from which the straight path of devotion leads onwards to the highest privileges of the Redeemed.

Eminent Men.

It would be impossible to include within our prescribed limits even brief notices of all the illustrious persons who have been connected with the Cathedral Church of Ely. Dr. Heylin in his "Help to English History," posthumously published in 1671, observes, the Bishoprick of Ely "may rejoice itself in this, that it yielded to this Realm as many great officers as any other in the kingdom. For it hath given to the State no less than nine Lord Chancellors, seven Lord Treasurers, one Lord Privy Seal, one Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, one of the Exchequer, two Masters of the Rolls: besides two Saints' unto the Church, two Cardinals to the Church of *Rome*, and to the *English* Court three Almoners." The inferior members of the foundation also number among them several distinguished names. Limited, however, as our space is, it would be wrong should we omit to add to the eminent personages who have already been mentioned for their services to the fabric of the Cathedral, certain others who claim our affectionate reverence for their faithful offices in the Church, which is the Body of CHRIST. Such were the Apostolical Prelates, Dr. Launcelot Andrewes, Bishop successively of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, whose writings³ are a most cherished possession of English Churchmen. Dr. Matthew Wren, of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, the faithful servant of King Charles I., and the friend and firm coadjutor of Archbishop Laud; who, after a confinement of nearly eighteen years in the Tower of London, witnessed the restoration of Monarchy, and erected the Chapel of Pembroke College in testimony of thankfulness to GOD for his own deliverance, and the happy turn of publick affairs. Dr. Peter Gunning, Bishop of Chichester and Ely, another faithful loyalist and excellent author. Dr. Francis Turner, of Rochester and Ely, one of the six Bishops committed to the Tower for refusing to promulgate in their Churches King James II.'s Declaration for Liberty of Conscience; and Dr. Simon Patrick, also of Chichester and Ely, the author of the well-known "Commentary," "Paraphrase of the Psalms," and other works.

Among the Prebendaries of the Cathedral may be named Dr. Matthew Parker, Master of Corpus Christi College, and Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Matthew Hutton, Bishop of Durham and Archbishop of York; Dr. John Whitgift, Master of Pembroke and Trinity Colleges, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of Canterbury;

1. St. John de Fontibus, and St. Hugh de Balsham.

2. Viz. ninety-six Sermons, Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, and Devotions.

Dr. James Duport, Master of Jesus College; Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter; Dr. James Wedderburne, Bishop of Dumblane; Dr. Lawrence Womack, Bishop of St. David's; Dr. John Pearson, Master of Jesus College, next of Trinity, and afterwards Bishop of Chester, well known for his "Exposition of the Creed;" Dr. Anthony Sparrow, Master of Queens' College, Bishop of Exeter, then of Norwich, and Author of the "Rational, or Practical Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer," and of the "Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons," &c.; Dr. Thomas Tanner, Bishop of St. Asaph, the laborious Compiler of the "Notitia Monastica;" and Dr. Stephen Weston, Bishop of Exeter.

DESCRIPTION.

Ely Cathedral, with its long roof, Octagon, and lofty Tower, visible for miles round in the flat country of Cambridgeshire, shows most strikingly from the eastern and south-eastern suburbs of the City, and as approached by the path leading through the College green. Its western Front is to be enjoyed by proceeding up the Fore-street as far as St. Mary's Church, and then turning round into the enclosure of the Episcopal Palace. From this the Facade is grand even in its present half-ruined state, and despite the addition of an incongruous story to the Tower; when perfect, it must have been inferior to but few others in the kingdom. In its original state it exhibited a Tower flanked by two Transepts, and these terminated by octagonal Turrets; the lower portions belonging to the old Romanesque order, but the upper parts indicating the commencement of the Pointed Style. Bishop Eustace, between the years 1198 and 1215, erected "the Galilee," as it is termed, a large porch,¹ namely, in front of the Tower (A in the plan); it has a gallery above it lighted to the west by three nearly equal lancets, but (intended to be) open internally to the Church. In the episcopate of Bishop Arundel the present uppermost story was added to the Tower; and subsequently, though at what time is unknown, the North Transept fell, and has ever since remained in ruins.

Mr. Stewart has pointed out the fact that the Galilee porch is not

1. The Galilee "was considered to be somewhat less sacred than the other portions of the building. The Galilee at Lincoln Cathedral is a porch on the west side of the south transept: . . . at Durham it is a large chapel at the west end of the nave, which was built for the use of the women, who were not allowed to advance further into the church than the second pillar of the nave. . . The name is supposed to be in allusion to 'Galilee of the Gentiles.'" — *Glossary of Architecture*, i. 178.

parallel to the axis of the Nave, but has a marked inclination to the north, while the Choir on the other hand, (like that of Exeter), inclines to the south. This doubtless was for a symbolical reason. We all know that the ground plans of Churches, by so frequently assuming a cross form, typify the doctrine of the Atonement,—the Choir or Chancel marking our blessed SAVIOUR'S Head, the Transepts His Arms, and the Nave His Body. By an expansion of this idea the Choir is made to bend southwards to shew the inclination of the REDEEMER'S Head upon the Cross; while, as it would seem from this example of the Ely Galilee, the Porch is turned in an opposite direction to indicate the position of His Feet. Now it is easy to deny that these symbolical considerations influenced our forefathers in marking out the ground-plans of their Churches, or to say that, if they did, they are fanciful, absurd, or superstitious; but it is not so easy to assign any other reason for the fact of such arrangements, nor to prove the weakness of embodying holy doctrines in external objects, and making the material fabrick of a Church suggestive of the Christian verities.

The great length of the Cathedral strikes every one immediately on his entrance, even though the present position of the Choir is not most favourable to its display. Then the grandeur of the Nave makes itself felt, possessing as it does all the solidity of the Romanesque style with greater lightness than is usual. The Tower (B) rises above us; the piers on which it formerly stood being cased with vast thicknesses of third-pointed masonry to compensate for the support of the ruined Transept, and to bear the burthen of the additional story. The ancient arches, slightly pointed, and decorated with the ornamental moldings of the Normans are visible above the more recent work. All the part above these arches has recently been brought to light by the removal of a lath and plaster ceiling. On our right hand is the South Transept (C), rich in the extreme with its several arcades, plain, intersecting, trifoliated, and pointed; in its eastern wall will be noticed a blocked arch; this opened into an apsidal Chauntry (*f* in the plan), the foundations of which are still discernible in the Deanery gardens. In the south wall is a doorway (*h*), also now filled with masonry, but formerly leading to a gallery which crossed the road on the outside and communicated with the Bishop's Palace. In the floor may be traced the circular ruin of a well or Baptistery (*g*); it has been digged into and carefully examined, but without the discovery of any clue by which its use may be positively assigned. This Transept has a melancholy interest attaching to it, for it was here that the respected architect Basevi fell from the scaffolding and was killed, while superintending the restorations, in the year 1845.

The Nave (E) consists of twelve "severies" or compartments, the pillars alternating in size and pattern. Over the Aisle runs a broad gallery or "triforium," as it is usually called, and above this is a narrow passage in the thickness of the wall, giving access to the clerestory windows; thus the height of the Cathedral is divided into three portions—basement, triforium, and clerestory; as its length is divided into as many parts—Nave, Transept, and Choir; and its breadth into the same number—north, middle and south Aisle. There can be little doubt that this Nave was originally designed to receive a flat panelled ceiling of wood; but the present roof, simple as its construction is, and quite unadorned, produces a much finer effect than we can conceive the former would have afforded. Both the Aisles are richly arcaded, that on the south retaining three of its original windows. Taking this side of the Cathedral first, we find in the third bay the FONT (*e*) an offering by Dean Spencer in the year 1693. Its design is in accordance with the taste or tastelessness of the age, and will soon cause it to give way to a more worthy successor; let us hope, however, that it will be preserved with the same reverence as the disused Font at Exeter, which has been re-erected in one of the Chauntries. In the fifth bay is a door-way called "the Prior's entrance" (*d*) internally plain, but on the exterior elaborately ornamented. In the tympanum is a figure of the SAVIOUR seated in an aureole, (or "glory" of a pointed oval shape), and attended by two Angels. The mouldings above, as well as the capitals, jambs, and pilasters, are enriched with running foliage, and with a series of medallions, the more remarkable of which, those on the right hand, are considered by Mr. Milner to represent the festivities attending on a wedding.¹ This doorway communicated with the north-western angle of the Cloisters; a second one, (*d'*) less ornamented, was at the north-eastern angle, and formed "the Monks' entrance." The latter opened just eastward of the rood-skreen,² which stretched across the Nave (at *e*), where the pillar on either side still retains a niche against it. The Choir, then, extended from this point so as to include the third severy eastward of the transept, an arrangement which prevailed as well while the old central Tower was standing, as subsequently when it had given place to the octagon.

The Transepts (GG) are, as we have seen, the oldest parts of the existing Cathedral, being the work of Abbat Simeon, just as those at

1. Carter's *Ancient Painting and Sculpture*, p. 10.

2. Dr. Tanner thus describes the gallery which in his time existed here :—
 "Between the Choir and Nave is an ancient stone Gallery from pillar to pillar cross the middle Aisle; on which, towards the east, is plac'd the Organ, and on the west part are seats for the Bishop, Dean, Prebendaries, and other members of the Church, to hear the Sermons."—Browne Willis' *History of the Conventual Cathedral Churches*, Vol. i. p. 267.

Winchester are the earliest portions of the Cathedral there, being the work of Bishop Walkelin, our Abbat Simeon's brother. There is considerable similarity between the two structures. Each had a central tower, though Winchester only retains it, but both possess east and west Aisles to their Transepts. At Winchester, each end, moreover, of the Transept, has an Aisle, the roof of which forms a platform or gallery; at Ely there is in place of this, a row of pilasters supporting a gallery of similar character but smaller dimensions. "This kind of gallery," says Professor Willis, "is not unusual in the churches of Normandy, as I have already had occasion to remark in my History of Canterbury,¹ where I have shewn that it was reserved for chapels, or for the preservation of relics of peculiar sanctity." At present, both the Aisles in the south Transept of Ely are parted off with masonry, and used as Vestries, and for the Chapter-house and Library. In the centre lies a curious tessellated pavement. One of the windows in the gallery just described has been recently filled with painted glass, the work of M. Gerente of Paris. It represents the principal events in the life of the patriarch Joseph, and may be pronounced on the whole a very successful attempt; the drawing seems especially careful. Our own artist Mr. Wailes, by an offering of the Reverend Canon Sparke, has filled the south eastern window of the octagon with the portraits of several saintly personages connected with the history of Ely; in time, when the three other windows shall have been similarly adorned, this one will appear to much greater advantage than at present, while too much light falls upon it internally. The glass for the north eastern window is now in course of preparation by Mr. Wailes, being a contribution by the Bachelors of Arts and Undergraduates of the University of Cambridge.²

The method in which the octagon (F) was formed after the fall of the central tower has been already explained. Four of its sides open by large and bold arches to the Nave, north and south Transepts, and Choir respectively. Each of the other sides opens to the Aisles by a smaller arch, above which is a gallery, and a window of four lights with geometrical tracery. A second plane of open tracery half hides the curves and points of these windows, producing a very

1. Winchester, p. 24; Canterbury, p. 37, note 1.

2. The estimated expense of this window is £500, of which little more than £200 has as yet been subscribed. Mr. Wailes has undertaken to prepare all the glass at once, but it will only be placed in the window as the funds shall from time to time allow. It is hoped that those to whom the subscription is limited will agree in the belief which the originators of the scheme have expressed "that they are privileged by their connexion with the Diocese of Ely to assist in the repair of its Cathedral Church." Sums may be paid at Messrs. Mortlock's bank, Cambridge, on account of "the Ely Window Fund."

rich effect. Midway up each vaulting shaft is a canopied niche of unusual but very beautiful character; these rest upon capitals sculptured with the chief incidents of St. Etheldreda's life, as we have before explained. The groining is of wood in imitation of stone, and from it springs an eight-sided lantern also of wood, covered externally with lead. It is but a mean affair, and indeed all the upper portion of this octagon, however ingenious its construction, is of an unsatisfactory nature.

The three Eastern bays of the old Choir, forming the present ante-Choir, are beautiful specimens of the middle-pointed style. The same broad triforium runs here over the Aisles, and contains a series of three arches filled with tracery of peculiar character and an unusual degree of beauty. Above this, the clerestory contains as many good four-light windows. The Presbytery, used now as the Choir, is an equally fine example of the first-pointed order. It has six severies. The pillars, which are of Purbeck marble, are octagonal, clustered with shafts, and are now receiving the high polish which they yield so unwillingly¹ and so unsurpassably. The moldings of the arches have the deep bold beauty of their style; above them are the gorgeous arches of the triforium, rich alike with carved foliage and contrasted colours; and over these again the exquisite triplets of the clerestory. The vaulting has that simple but effective rib-work which belongs so especially to the first and to the purest middle pointed styles; it contrasts very favourably with the more complex ramifications in Bishop Hotham's portion of the Choir. The eastern end has three gigantic lancets of nearly equal height, and above them five smaller ones graduated to the curve of the roof. The spandrels throughout are relieved with trefoils and quatrefoils deeply sunk and backed with Purbeck marble; and on the whole, the contrast of light and shade, depth and projection, white and dark masonry, may be considered as brought to perfection in this part of the Church.

Never was there a more ill-judged step than the removal of the Choir hither, towards the latter portion of the last century. To give it such stinted proportions, and for this purpose to displace some of the fine old monuments, and to hide others, to obscure the pillars, and, above all, to erect the miserable organ gallery which we now behold, may surely be pronounced most tasteless performances. Only, happily, it is not necessary to scold much about them, seeing the injury

1. The amount of labour requisite for the polishing of one of these pillars cannot be realised but by one who has been much upon the spot, and witnessed the slow advance which is made by the workmen though incessantly engaged upon it. Small portions are made very hot by the application of charcoal, the heat of which is directed against the stone by the aid of bellows; a resinous preparation is then applied, and the polish brought out by manipulation.

is in such a fair way to be repaired. Devoutly is it to be hoped, that we shall yet behold the Presbytery what, or very nearly what, it once was. One of the greatest eyesores it now presents, the absence of painted glass, will be removed by the ample provisions made by the late Bishop Sparke for the purpose. And the next, the break in the triforium in the western two compartments, will also be remedied, by continuing the upper roof and removing the present middle-pointed windows, which are filled into the original arches. The restoration of the Choir to its ancient position under the octagon has already been advocated; one other reason for desiring it seems to be this, that if the stalls are re-erected in Bishop Hotham's choir, they will obscure its graceful pillars as they now obscure Bishop Northwold's, but if erected under the octagon,¹ they will hide nothing. Hotham's portion would then form a very grand Sacrarium, separated from its aisles by light parcloles of stone running from pillar to pillar.

The stall-work of Alan de Walsingham has suffered considerably by "incongruous additions in deal and plaster;" it nevertheless exhibits considerable richness of design and boldness of execution. The misereres have been engraved by Carter in his "Ancient Painting and Sculpture," to which work the Ecclesiologist is referred for their subjects, and an explanation of them from the pen of Mr. Milner.

The back of the stall-work towards the Transepts originally afforded a space for the introduction of paintings. Those which existed in the North Transept are engraved by Gough in the first volume of his "Sepulchral Monuments," where they are said to be "the oldest original paintings of bishops in their habits of ceremony." Their antiquity was certainly great, to judge from the character of the architectural details introduced, these being of the first-pointed style, and the "dog-tooth molding" conspicuous. There were six episcopal figures and one knight; and when the wall was removed there were found seven distinct cells containing the respective bones. "They were brought thither from the old conventual church in the reign of Stephen, by Nigellus bishop of Ely, and their names were legible over their painted effigies." On the removal of the Choir in 1771, the bones were placed in fresh cells prepared for them in the south wall of Bishop West's chantry; a general inscription was placed over them all, and on each cell the name of the deceased whose remains it held.²

1. The old Choir, indeed, included one bay of the Nave; this would now be undesirable because of the projection of the middle-pointed additions to its eastern pillars. The idea of the parcloles separating the Sacrarium from its Aisles is taken from the arrangement at Exeter.

2. These inscriptions are too interesting to be omitted: "✠ Subtus con-
duntur ossa VII virorum, de Eliensibus optime meritorum, in ecclesia conven-
tuali pie adservata; ad eccles. cathedralem solemniter translata MCLIV; postea

We may now return to the route by which the visitor is ordinarily conducted round the Cathedral. Going on again in the south Aisle, we cannot fail to notice the several beautiful "matrices" which remain in the pavement. These are the indents in which brasses were formerly inlaid, but the latter having been destroyed through fanaticism or stolen for the sake of the metal, the matrices alone remain as the memorials of the several deceased. Nor can even these, indeed, with but one or two exceptions, be assigned to the persons whom they were intended to commemorate; frequent transpositions having destroyed the principal clues to their identity. It is satisfactory to find that these frail relics are awakening greater attention than they have hitherto received: they will be saved from further mutilation by the filling in of a dark composition into their indents; and a lithographic series of reductions of them will be shortly published.¹ Only two brasses remain out of the vast number which once adorned the floor of this Cathedral. Of these, the earliest is that of Bishop Goodrich(13), who deceased A.D. 1554. He is represented in his pontifical vestments, and bears the Great Seal in his character of Lord Chancellor of England. The canopy and most of the accessories to this brass have perished. The second is that of Dean Tyndall(14), who deceased in 1614.

The principal monuments which claim our attention in this Aisle are those of Bishop Heton and Bishop Gunning against the south wall, and of Bishop de Luda, Bishop Northwold, and Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, at the back of the stalls. Bishop Heton's monument(10), A.D. 1609, is remarkable as attesting the use of copes by our clergy after the Reformation; the orphrey of the cope is richly embroidered with figures of the Apostles. Bishop Gunning's tomb(9), A.D. 1684, is noticeable chiefly for his sake whom it commemorates; it is also to be observed as representing a bishop of the Reformed Church wearing a mitre and carrying a pastoral staff. Under the beautiful monument of Bishop de Luda(8), A.D. 1298, stands a curious coffin-lid of Purbeck marble, belonging apparently to the latter half of the 12th century. It is carved with the representation of an angel conveying a soul to

in boreali pariete nuperi chori inclusa; tandem hoc in sacello capsulæ quæque suæ redditæ prid. Cal. Aug. MDCLXXI. Requiescant! Wlstanus Archiep̄s Ebor, obiit A. D. MXXIII. Osmundus Ep̄s e Suedia obiit circa A. D. MLXVII. Alwin Ep̄us Elmhamensis obiit A. D. MXXIX. Ælfgarus Ep̄us Elmhamensis obiit A. D. MXXI. Ednothus Ep̄us Dorcestrensis Cæsus a Danis A. D. MXVI. Athelstanus Ep̄us Elmhamensis obiit circa A. D. DCCCCXCVI. Brithnothus Northumbrior. Dux prælie cæsus a Danis A. D. DCCCCXCI.

1. The compiler of the present pages has been induced to undertake this task; and he further proposes the publication of several other series of matrices, arranged according to localities, should sufficient encouragement be afforded. In the meanwhile he solicits any information on the subject.

heaven, under the shape of a small human figure; there is an inscription "Sanctus Michael oret pro me." As the figure carries a pastoral staff, it is evidently the memorial of a bishop: may it not be that of Bishop Ridel, who deceased A.D. 1189? The beautiful monument of Bishop Northwold(7), A.D. 1254, lies on the high tomb of Bishop Barnet, A.D. 1373: it is a large slab of Purbeck, deeply incised with the effigy of the deceased, and having niches at its sides with figures and a variety of foliage and elaborate sculpture; at the feet is a representation of St. Edmund's martyrdom. Earl Tiptoft has a handsome canopied high tomb(6), on the table of which lie the effigy of himself and his two wives: the latter only were buried at Ely, the body of the Earl being deposited in the church of the Dominicans, near Ludgate. There is a beautiful engraving of the effigies in Gough, vol. II. pl. 89, and an interesting account of the deceased, pp. 226-228. At the east end of this Aisle is the Chantry Chapel of Bishop West(b), A.D. 1533. It is very curious as exhibiting the introduction of classical ornament into the expiring forms of pointed art. The bishop's arms, and the scripture "GRATIA DEI SUM QUOD SUM," occur repeatedly both within and without. The iron-work of the door is noticeable. The east window has been filled by Mr. Evans of Shrewsbury with painted glass, which cannot be praised either for design or execution. We have before noticed the monument of the seven benefactors of Ely; in the window behind it, and in the corresponding window of Bishop Alcock's Chantry, are the principal fragments of old glass remaining in the Cathedral.

Archbishop Luxemburg has a high tomb (5) on the south of the present Sacarium, and adjoining Bishop West's Chapel. Mr. Bentham in his print puts a Cardinal's hat on the head of the effigy, while Mr. Cole asserts that it has only a mitre, and Mr. Gough says that the dispute can never be decided because of the new wainscot of the Chancel by which the monument is shut up. Happily the new wainscot is now gone, and, strange to say, the figure appears—headless! The vestments however are certainly episcopal. Bishop Alcock's Chapel(a), at the east end of the north Aisle, is an overwrought example of the late third-pointed style. Its erection was commenced in the year 1488, as appears from a stone found on opening a grave at some little distance, and now built into the wall: it is incised with five crosses, this inscription surrounding them:—"Johannes alkoc ep̄us eliēsis hanc fabricā fieri fecit MCCCCIII XXVIII." The high tomb of this illustrious Prelate is against the north wall, and has his effigy in episcopal robes. The Master and Fellows of Jesus College are at the expense of restoring the Chantry, and the work has hitherto been effected in the most careful and praiseworthy manner; a tessellated pavement copied from that in the south Transept

is in forwardness, and will be shortly laid down.' A small stone altar here deserves attention.

In the north Aisle we have to notice the monuments of Bishops Patrick, Hotham, Kilkenny, and Redman. The former illustrious Prelate deserves a more worthy memorial than the affair of cherubs and urns which at present marks his resting place; let us hope that, if ever the Presbytery is separated as above proposed, a fitting monument may be erected to him by the exertions of grateful Churchmen. The effigy of Bishop Hotham originally lay on the table of his high tomb (2), but it has now perished, and the sculpture with which the whole was adorned is also lost. Bishop Kilkenny's monument (3), A. D. 1256, has his figure carved in Purbeck marble, under a rich and bold canopy. Bishop Redman's memorial (4), in 1505, is an exceedingly fine composition. The effigy of the departed Prelate is recumbent on a high tomb under a rich triple canopy; a place being left at the feet of the figure for the Chauntry Priest. There are also two matrices here which deserve our notice, as the persons commemorated by them may be assigned. The first lies near the door of Bishop Alcock's Chapel, and is the only remnant of the monument of Bishop Gray who deceased A. D. 1478. The fine canopy under which it was placed (1) existed in Bentham's time, and is engraved in his

1. Bishop Alcock deserves a short biographical notice. He was born at Beverley and educated at Cambridge. After numerous minor preferments he was promoted to the see of Rochester. He founded a free School, and built a Chapel to the Church where his parents were buried, at Kingston-upon-Hull. In 1476 he was translated to Worcester, and enlarged the Collegiate Church of Westbury, rebuilding its north side. In 1481 he visited and reformed the Priory of Little Malvern, rebuilt their Church, repaired their Convent, and in great measure discharged their debts. In 1486 he was advanced to Ely. In 1487 he visited the ancient Nunnery of St. Rhadegund, Cambridge, which he afterwards converted into a College of students by the king's patent for dissolving the Nunnery, 1497. The new foundation was to consist of a Master, six Fellows, and a certain number of Scholars, to be called the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Rhadegund; but having added to these names that of *JESUS* it was, even in his time, commonly called *Jesus College*. His device was a *Cock*, of which allusion he was extremely fond, as appears by his placing the figure of that bird, with moral sentences on scrolls, in almost every part of the many and expensive public buildings which he erected, and in his works printed by Pinson and Winkin de Worde. He deceased at his castle of Wisbech, Oct. 1, 1500. He was not only a considerable writer, but an excellent architect. Bale's character of this Prelate is, that from his earliest youth he applied himself to learning and devotion; in which last he made such progress that no person in England had a greater reputation for sanctity of manners. His whole life was a course of the strictest temperance, mortification, abstinence, and study. See Gough, vol. II. p. 345.

book (Pl. XX.), but it has since been altogether removed. The second is between the tombs of Bishops Hotham and Kilkenny and represents a demi-figure under a canopy, with a floriated cross beneath. The letters I. C. leave little room to doubt that it is the gravestone of Prior John Crauden who deceased in 1341.

The original entrance to the Lady Chapel(I) is in this Aisle, in the easternmost bay of Bishop Hotham's Choir. It is now blocked by the cumbersome monument of Dean Cæsar, A.D, 1636, but it may still be seen above and around that erection. At present the only access from the Cathedral to the Lady Chapel is by a doorway in the angle of the north-eastern Transept. The most conflicting feelings assail us on viewing this remarkable structure. Admiration at its ancient glories, sorrow at its present desolation, are instantly conceived. Few visitors perhaps have seen so highly an enriched building. Of five ample severies surrounded by canopied niches of unwonted elaboration, lit by windows of great size and beauty, covered by a roof of almost magick lightness, and everywhere displaying the traces of most brilliant colour, it is perhaps nowhere to be surpassed or even equalled in splendour. Its area filled with the most vile pueing, its carved work broken down, its windows—here robbed of their painted glass—there altogether blocked up, it presents an unusual picture of decay and desecration. One cannot easily believe that it is still used as a place of worship; yet so it is by the inhabitants of Trinity parish, who have lost their own Church. It is said of a well-known popish architect of the present day, that he burst into tears on first beholding this Chapel, and exclaimed "O GOD! what has England done to deserve this?" Every Churchman too inclines to weep when he views this sad scene, but he knows that our country *did* incur the vengeance righteously, and that the desolation around him teaches a wholesome though a bitter lesson; *that no perfection of human art may stand in lieu of moral excellence, and no splendour of a material Church be accepted for the integrity of the spiritual Body of CHRIST.* Having vindicated *that* from its obscurations, having experienced the flames of a fierce reaction, and now by GOD's grace coming out of the fire refined and purified, he knows that the English Church will go on its way rejoicing; and making it her first care to gather to her LORD households like a flock of sheep, she will also be permitted to build up for them the waste places of Sion, and to beautify the place of the Sanctuary; not only moreover to restore the works of our fathers, but also to go beyond them, and to develop yet latent excellencies of Christian architecture, as far surpassing those of this wondrous Chauntry, as they themselves excel the barbaric splendours of the western Transept. May every Christian pray, and—so far as in him lies—labour, for such a consummation. May even

these poor pages bring their share of furtherance to the task, leading all in whose hands they may be found to a reverent examination and appreciation of one of the most noble of our sacred edifices, and bringing more prominently forward, so that those who run may read, the many lessons which visiting a Cathedral is calculated to supply.

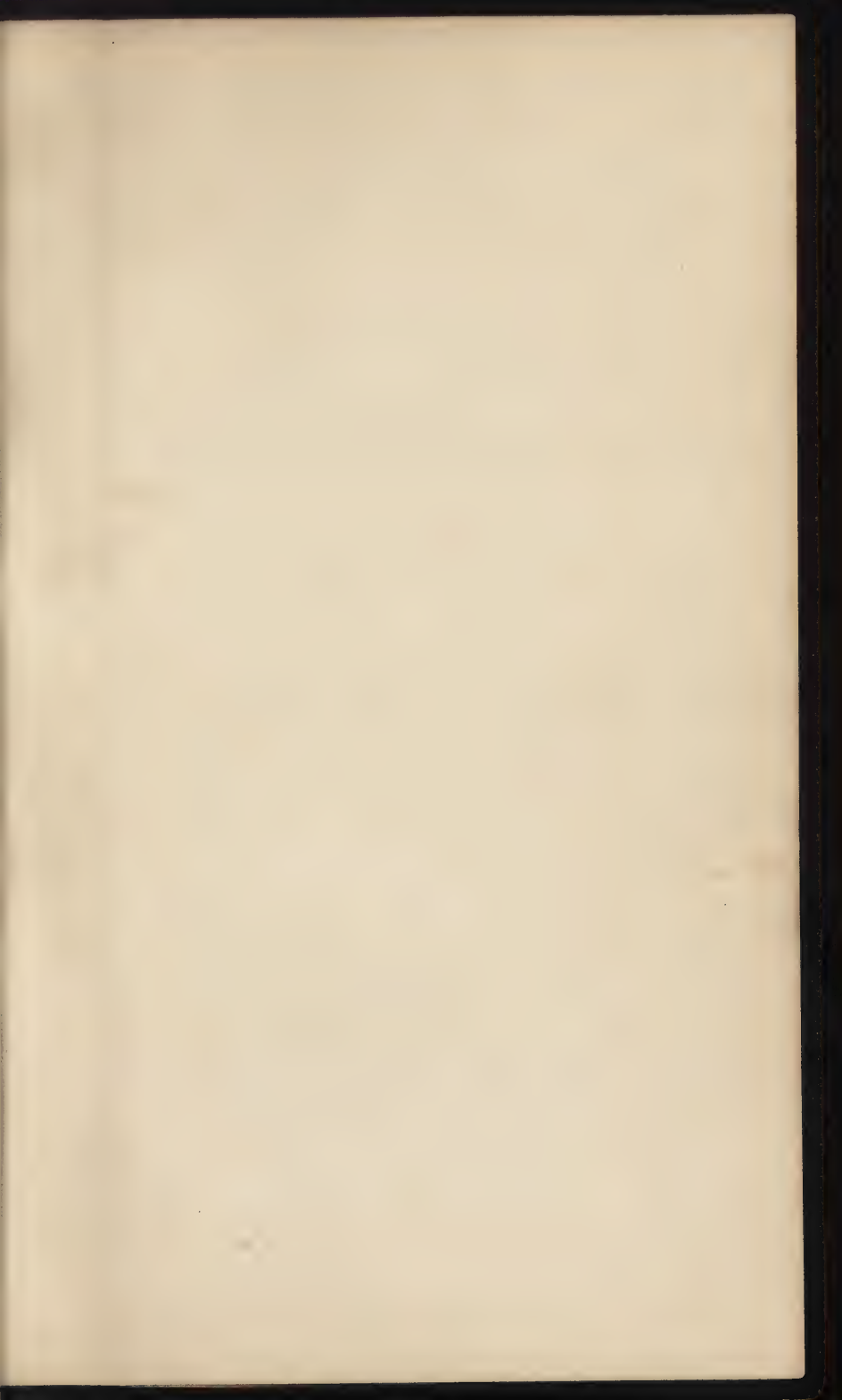
Returning to the North Transept we may notice two windows which have been recently filled with painted glass by Mr. Wailes, and which both deserve commendation. We may also remark the fine third-pointed roofs of the Transepts, still retaining their decorative colour. At the west end of the north Aisle is deposited that curious relic of Anglo-Saxon antiquity which we have before noticed—Ovin's stone. It stands in a niche, formed where the Aisle once opened into the north Transept. With it we will conclude our survey of the interior of the Cathedral; those who desire to examine the triforia, roof, Tower, and Octagon may easily obtain permission to do so, but will require no guidance from us, as the Vergers very properly accompany strangers to them. No Ecclesiologist will omit the opportunity of seeing them, for only such places afford adequate ideas of the size, and many of the constructional features, of our Cathedrals.

We have departed from the usual plan of describing the exterior of our Cathedral first, because the few remarks that are necessary on the subject will be most conveniently introduced in the notice of the Monastic Buildings to which we are about to proceed. It will not however be necessary to speak of them at any length, as an account of the whole Monastery, accompanied by a plan, will shortly appear from the pen of Mr. Stewart. Leaving then the Church by its western door, and turning to the left, we come at no great distance to a fine old gate-house, called the Ely Porta, and once the grand entrance to the Monastic enclosure. Advancing from this towards the south Transept of the Cathedral, we have on the right a small and very beautiful Chapel, which bears the name of Prior Crauden, as it was erected by him. In 1801 it was sacrilegiously converted into a dwelling-house, its height being divided by a floor and two rooms constructed in each story. Happily this profanation is at an end, and the Chapel undergoing a thorough restoration; its East-window, and curious "low side window" deserve especial notice. Beyond this were the Prior's lodgings, now converted into a dwelling-house for the Canon of the first stall, and the Refectory which at present forms the Deanery. Between this and the Cathedral were the Cloisters, of which small portions only now remain. On our right are what are popularly termed the ruins of the old Conventual Church, but what Professor Willis has shewn to be the Infirmary for the sick Monks. It is indeed a Church-like building, having a Nave, as it were, and Aisles, but at its eastern end we find a doorway, where if the part

we are in had been a Church we might have expected the Chancel arch. This doorway gives access to the Chapel of the Infirmary, which was thus most conveniently placed for the use of the invalids; it also has its Aisles and an apsidal Chancel. The latter, indeed, as well as the Aisles both of the Chapel and "Fermery" are taken into the prebendal buildings on either side, so that we now walk through the body of the building as through a street. The Dortor or Dormitory of the Monks was westward of the Infirmary, and the Chapter-house filled up the space between it and the end of the south Transept. Some other of the conventual buildings as the *Sextre*, or Sacrist's lodgings, and the *Almery* or Almoner's, were on the north side of the Church.

We have seen that the Presbytery, the work of Bishop Northwold, is a most beautiful example of the first-pointed style. Of this however the Aisle and Triforium windows present externally but little appearance, as the lancets were removed in 1373, and the present windows inserted; in the westernmost two bays however on the south side, the character of the original Triforium may still be discovered. The East end of the Cathedral is of unusual beauty, but cannot be seen to advantage for a garden wall which prevents a sufficiently distant view. It displays three tiers of windows,—the triplet below, and five lancets above, which light the Choir, and three equal lancets over which light the space between the stone vaulting and the outer roof. The pinnacle at the south-east angle, and the gable Cross, have been restored at the expense of the Lady Mildred Hope. In passing round the North side we may observe that the North-eastern angle of the Transept has been rebuilt, and received some additions from the taste of Sir Christopher Wren. This misfortune happened to the Church in 1669, when the corner in question fell.

After all the Compiler fears that these Notes are more meagre than they were intended to be, and yet he has exceeded the space which his Publisher first allowed him. He trusts however that those who know the difficulty of preserving the due mean in works of this kind, between too much diffuseness and too great sententiousness will excuse his shortcomings in this respect. That those also who may have expected a variety of documentary, compared with architectural, evidence will have been reconciled to the fact that the Compiler has not attempted it, because it would have been both beyond his strength, and also foreign to the desired popularity of his work. That all, lastly, will give him credit for a desire to be useful, and will consider that the absence of any such a manual as is here attempted is a sufficient justification of his book's appearance.





NORTH-EAST VIEW OF THE CHAPEL ON WAKEFIELD BRIDGE.

W. & A. DODD & CO. LONDON.

Remarks :
 upon :
Wayside : **C**hapels :
 with : **O**bservations : on : the :
Architecture :
 and
 present : state : of : the :
Chantry : on : **W**akefield : **B**ridge :



by
John : **C**hessell : **B**uckler :

and
Charles : **B**uckler :
Architects :

Oxford :

John : Henry : Parker :

(Printing : St. Paul's Church-yard : and : Waterloo-Place :
 Weale : Architectural Library : Colborn : London :
 Stevenson : Cambridge :

M : DCCC : LXXX.

THE HISTORY OF THE

OF THE

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OF

OF

OF

OF THE

TO THE REVEREND
WILLIAM HOOPER PARKER, M.A.

RECTOR OF SAHAM TONY, NORFOLK,

LATE FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD,

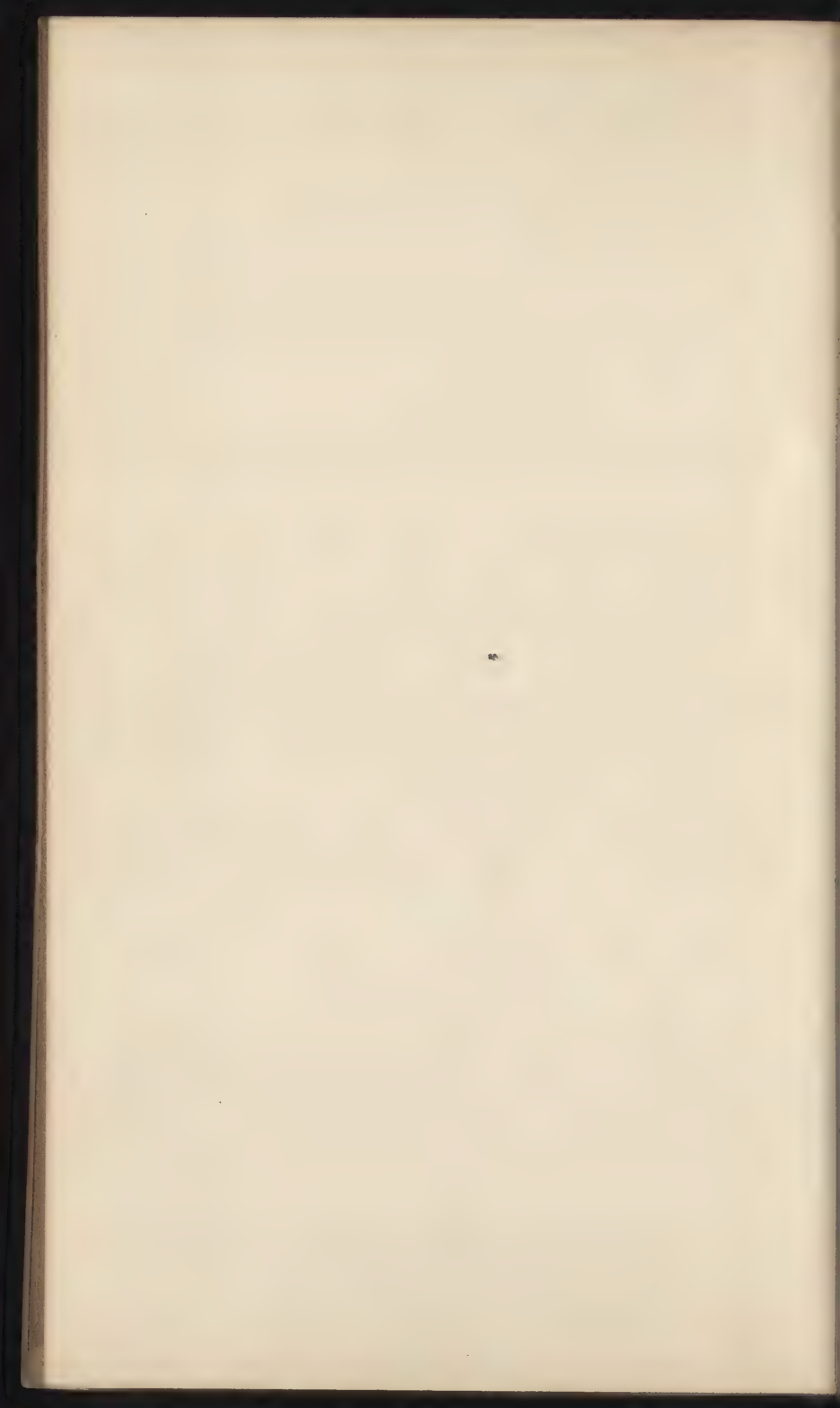
AND ONE OF THE

RURAL DEANS OF THE DEANERY OF BRECCLES, NORFOLK,

THIS WORK IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS DEVOTED SERVANTS,

JOHN CHESSELL BUCKLER,
CHARLES BUCKLER.



PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE Members of the Yorkshire Architectural Society, by a recent advertisement for designs for the restoration of the BRIDGE-CHAPEL at Wakefield, may fairly claim the credit of having first directed public attention to these important as well as characteristic features on the lines of ancient highways.

To gain possession of this building for the sake of recovering it to Church services, has long been a favourite object with the Reverend Samuel Sharpe, Vicar of Wakefield, and the successful result of his exertions has been the means of placing the restoration under the superintendence of the Society.

The following observations upon the Chapel accompanied a set of designs, and were composed from memoranda collected within the last thirty years, during which period the writers have had opportunities of examining it, and of preserving with the pencil, the perishing forms of its architectural enrichments.

On the occasion referred to, it was clearly not the intention of the authors to enter very fully into the history of the subject, but merely to collect together their scattered notes; and they are not now disposed to augment the bulk of the original manuscript to any considerable extent; aware that it already forms a more detailed account than has hitherto been published by any antiquary.

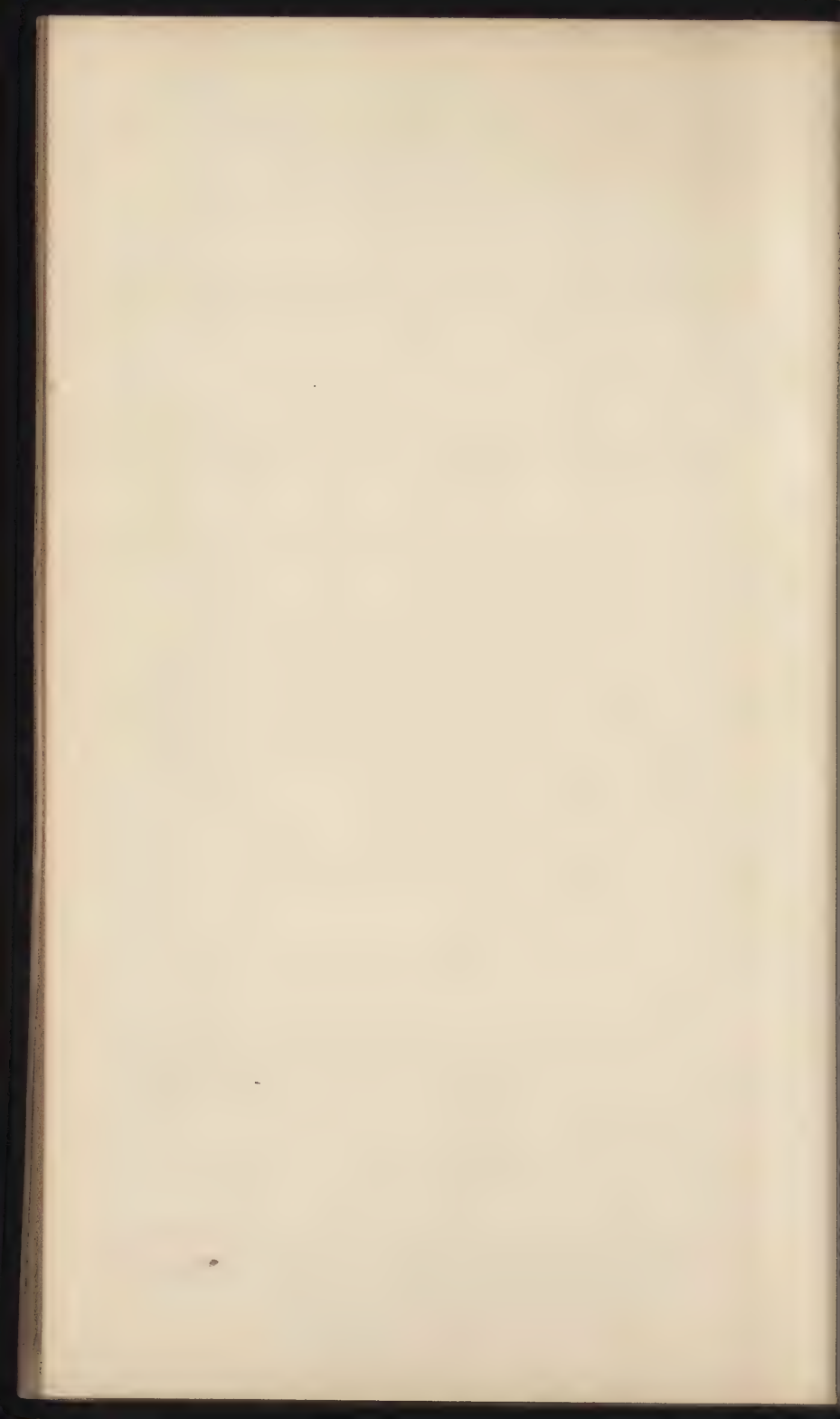
It would be altogether out of place to offer any suggestions as to the manner best adapted to give stability to the walls where additional strength has become necessary, or to touch upon particulars connected with the various and difficult repairs, which are found indispensable in the present state of the building.

Whatever may be the first impression conveyed to the mind by a general review of it, touching the question of the recovery of the greater portion of its splendid detail by means of partial renewal, a close and critical examination will certainly lead to the encouraging conclusion that the main constituent features of the design have survived the combined attacks of injury and decay.

The present inquiry is strictly original, and, as such, briefly as the historical portion is treated, it will perhaps be accepted with little excuse for its publication, and be deemed not

altogether an uninteresting contribution to the stock of information upon the remains of the ancient architecture of England.

As the especial purpose which the following pages were designed to serve, admitted of remarks which would prove unintelligible to the general reader without the assistance of numerous illustrative Engravings, the materials have been remodelled, with the addition of a few particulars which were not called for in the original communication.



Remarks upon Wayside Chapels, &c.

THE present inquiry is far more interesting than may at first sight appear, these Chapels being intimately connected with the early history of roads, which, with causeways, aqueducts, and bridges, had followed the Roman eagle in its exulting flight through subjugated provinces.

The freedom of communication, and the penetrating easily into different parts of the country, were matters of importance, and no less beneficial to those who engaged in the laborious task of commencing the work, than to the community at large.

It can scarcely be denied that the promoters were men of true public spirit, possessed of power, and with such a measure of property as enabled them to execute their intentions with success; and how complete this was we are informed in the accounts of Glastonbury and Muchelney, where, through the liberality and inflexible perseverance of the Abbots, watery wastes were redeemed by processes of draining

and embankment, and converted into fruitful and healthful districts.

Security was not overlooked, as appears by the frequent selection of swampy situations for the sites of Monasteries. The labour and expense consequent upon such undertakings were disregarded.

Industry and wealth—and both were at hand—were the means best calculated to attain the object; and experience proved in very many instances, that a luxuriant soil gathered around these splendid mansions, diffusing abundance and prosperity through the territories dependent upon them.

A permanent approach to a chosen site thus circumstanced must, in the first instance, have been formed, and then protected, and as the co-operation of multitudes was needful in a work of great and various employment, communication with places remotely situated required that these causeways should spread in various directions, and to great distances; and we can form but an imperfect notion at the present day, of the inhospitable character of the country over which, in many situations, these artificial roads were carried with such incredible labour.

Nor was it lightly considered that the means of obtaining a safe passage across wide tracts,

or thinly peopled districts, and the necessity for free intercourse between cities and the larger monastic institutions, required encouragement and promotion, and early led to the systematic formation and maintenance of public ways, under the protection of religious establishments, whose possessions extended over a very considerable portion of the country; and the relics of information to be gathered of the scheme anciently adopted, of fixing Chapels along the lines, are not, even at this distant period, too few or inconsiderable to be regarded as a curious subject of investigation; and it is hoped that these brief references may lead to its further pursuit.

In the advance of national importance, the very ancient mode of communication by ferries was superseded by the construction of permanent bridges across unfordable rivers, and the recourse to these pointed out the most appropriate situations for the erection of Chapels.

Besides Bridge-Chapels there were others on the highway, or in lonely places, which linked the intervals in the chain of communication, and were founded with the same benevolent intention, of providing for the temporary rest and refreshment of pilgrims and travellers; and since journeys in former times had, perhaps, less to do with commerce than religion, it seems

very probable that the road between these little asylums was entrusted to their peculiar care, the whole being directed by and under the control of the superior establishments, from which such provident measures emanated.

Although these beneficial undertakings were mainly promoted and effected through the powerful patronage or instrumentality of the clergy and religious orders, the riches of the community tended indirectly to their advancement.

The wealth of the Monasteries was accumulated by contributions from all parts of the kingdom. Their foundation or endowment might rest in the bounty of an individual, but their revenues were greatly increased by the gifts of devout strangers and pilgrims, and the generous bequests of benefactors. Thus aided, the architectural beauty of the domestic buildings, and the grandeur and magnificence of the gateways and Churches, resulted from the scientific studies nurtured by those who retired from the strife of the world to live professedly in the practice of religion, and in unremitting devotion to the good of their neighbour.

The laity by taking a due part in the maintenance of the spiritual pastors or landlords, at whose hands so many benefits were received, sustained the common welfare by the exact observance of making a portion of that which had

been so freely bestowed upon them, a tribute to the impartial dispensers of good, the parents and promoters of literature and of the arts and sciences, and the main supports of the population which gathered around their noble domains.

A small Chapel was frequently situated on the outer boundary of Convents so as to be approached without entering the precinct gateway. It was also one among the uses to which the apartments over bars at the foot of bridges or the entries of a town were occasionally set apart:—

The west-gate of the city of Canterbury was an instance of this kind .

At Litcham in Norfolk the Chapel belonging to the religious house established on the bank of the Nar, and in the road to Walsingham, was attached to the foot of the bridge for the admission of all who passed by the way.

These solitary Chapels had no lodging rooms, and were places of transit rather than of sojourn: within their consecrated walls each wayworn and devotional traveller found rest for a short interval at the hours of prayer, or during a

^a Gostling, in his "Walk in Canterbury," has the following note in reference to this subject;—"In the time of King Richard the Second, Holy Cross Church was (as is now north-gate) over the gate, which when Archbishop Sudbury took down and rebuilt, he erected the present Church, and added a Church-yard to it, with leave of the King."

toilsome journey: here he gave utterance to his gratitude for past mercies, and to supplications for future; and then he sped him to the Hospital for bodily repose and refreshment—sure of welcome from the good Superior who “loveth the stranger in giving him food and raiment^b.”

The clerical offices were performed by an authorized member of the religious house in possession of the advowson, a cappellane subservient to the parish priest, or in appointment of the lord of the manor.

We can scarcely wonder at the scanty supply of information on the subject of Wayside Chapels. Their name, as well as their use, is now almost forgotten, and the remains of these solitary little buildings though frequently to be met with, have never hitherto excited sufficient interest to lead to any inquiry as to the purpose for which they were formerly erected^c.

The one at Wakefield could not escape observation, nor fail to secure admiration, on

^b Deut. x. 18.

^c “Entering Stia, a small town among the Appennines, with the ruins of an old castle above it, I saw a little Chapel at the end of the bridge, on which was an inscription to this effect:—‘Here is the bridge to enter Stia, and here is the Chapel of our Blessed Lady; may it prove to us a bridge to Heaven!’”

account of its architectural excellencies; but its elevation to the distinction of a Chantry so far back as the reign of King Edward IV., left no chance of its being generally remembered and recognised as one among the number of the Wayside Chapels of an earlier age; certain as it is that its after dedication at the period just named, did not diminish its usefulness as a charitable foundation for the relief of weary pedestrians.

But notwithstanding this, and though the purpose of the foundation was extended in the manner above mentioned, and a proportionate increase made in its revenues by the additional endowment, yet it does not appear that any alteration of the structure followed, at least in the architecture of the exterior, whatever may have been deemed useful or appropriate in the arrangement of the interior; the latter, if required, has been entirely lost in the wreck which attended its suppression.

It is necessary to remark this, because the date of the institution of the Chantry has hitherto guided opinion as to the age of the Chapel; whereas there is not a feature in it excepting a few more recent restorations, which is not strictly original, that is, of the age of King Edward II.

It may be mentioned, that although Chan-

tries were often founded in parish Churches, separate buildings were not always added for the celebration of the private services, which were performed at the Altar in the chancel; and that the term *Chantry*, although strictly correct in this instance, is too frequently misapplied.

Wayside Chapels were the only ancient places of public worship with which burial grounds were not locally connected. They had no walled enclosures, and could never have been more alone than many are now on the highways to Walsingham.

Those near Hillborough have been planted on the bleak brows of elevated ground near the roadside, and are without particular architectural distinction, being little oblong buildings of equal breadth throughout, as plain in design as in their figure.

The walls are roofless and broken, the cracks and chasms serving to channel away the water from the moss-grown summit.

The interior, which could once afford rest to the weary, and a pittance to the distressed, is now too desolate to be sought as a shelter by cattle.

No marvel then that travellers in later days have neglected to turn a few paces out of the way to visit these ancient relics: they would

find them not altogether uninteresting, but overgrown with briars, and half filled up with heaps of old rubbish.

No kind of sepulchral memorial has been discovered within or on the outside of any of these edifices, often as death must have overtaken the pilgrim on his way.

Chances of this kind were not provided for by a consecrated space for burial, as the custom of entombing the dead around the sanctuary in which the living assembled for worship, was never extended to Wayside Chapels, neither was the administration of baptism, nor the celebration of matrimony included in the duties prescribed to them, as was sometimes the case in privileged instances in assistant Chapels belonging to districts at a distance from the mother Church.

The ruins of a village Church environed by the graves and monuments of mortality, present a less dreary aspect than these forlorn structures.

There is after all something so congenial to our feelings in the custom of thus assembling the living and the dead together, of kneeling amidst their enshrined ashes, and upon the floor covered with their venerable memorials, that we could not relinquish it but with reluctance.

Standing as many of these little Chapels do in the most dreary and conspicuous places, on ground so barren as to have been left to this day without cultivation, the walls remaining unre-moved merely because improvement has not reached the spot they occupy, they proclaim the danger and the necessities to which travellers in former ages were exposed.

Surely there must have been something more than idle curiosity in pilgrimages, conducted as they were under many and severe privations, without prospect of relief for many long days together, except in the hope of assistance within the walls of these provident institutions.

The beautiful Chapel situated on the east side of Wakefield Bridge, and at right angles with it, presents a bolder appearance than is seen in other examples, not excepting the celebrated one of St. William of York, which, owing to the course of the river, stood parallel with the Ouse Bridge, two of the arches of which, with their triangular abutment-piers, were extended to form a basement for the superstructure.

The original foundation was raised under the invocation of St. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin, to whom was subsequently dedicated the Royal Chantry, endowed after

the battle fought near the spot between the conflicting Houses of York and Lancaster, in the year of our Lord 1460^d.

The old error with respect to its true age admits, perhaps, of excuse, and can only be detected and refuted by sound architectural evidence.

The authors never remember to have heard a sufficiently high date ascribed to the building, which strongly proclaims, by every feature of its design, the period of the fourteenth century, to which it belongs.

The Bridge at Wakefield is of considerable length, and was, till within little more than half a century, a footway about sixteen feet in width between the parapets, with triangular recesses over the side piers.

Nine arches with their supporting piers were required to carry the way over the river at this place.

^d Hall relates that the Duke of York's second son, the Earl of Rutland, a boy only twelve or thirteen years old, was stopped at Wakefield Bridge as he was flying with Sir Robert Aspoll, his chaplain and schoolmaster.

The poor boy fell on his knees to pray for mercy, but as soon as he was known, Lord Clifford, whose father had been killed by the Yorkists at St. Alban's, plunged his dagger into his heart, vowing by God's blood that he would do the like to all of kin to York, and then the savage bade Aspoll go on and tell his mother, the Duchess, what had happened.

In point of construction, adequate firmness was given to the work, but nothing attempted in the way of ornament.

The parapet has been rebuilt, and the arches have not escaped alteration beyond that which became necessary when the structure was widened on the west side, but the east still presents much of its original and venerable appearance; and here we discover that the low-browed arches consisted of four substantial, detached ribs of compact masonry, springing with perfect simplicity from their abutments.

The road ascends slightly from each extremity to the crown of the centre arch, against the northern pier of which, towards the town, the Chapel was erected, in handsome elevation above the common level.

There were formerly two or three steps from the bridge up to the doors of the Chapel, but the levels are now so far changed as to have left the floor one ample step below the pavement of the bridge.

The raised footpath has almost left the front of the building without a plinth, which was originally of handsome height, rich in mouldings, and in fine relief from the wall, breaking round all the buttresses, and uniting with the sills of the blank arches.

The basement upon which the Chapel is

raised from the bed of the river to the level of the bridge, offered no temptation to mischief, and consequently retains its pristine simplicity unimpaired; its firm and compact condition is of the utmost importance to the permanent safety of the superstructure, which, by the care and skill of its builders, alike shewn in their choice of materials and ability in the use of them, retains a strong hold upon its massy foundations after long exposure to the excessive and repeated injuries it has suffered.

It abuts upon a pier of the bridge between two of the main arches.

The breadth at this extremity is limited to about nine feet, in order to prevent further impediment to the impetuous course of the Calder than is occasioned by the resistance of the pier itself.

This precaution has given rise to the most clever contrivances :—

The basement becomes gradually increased by a slant on each side, the impending superstructure being carried over a bold projection by means of radiating corbels.

This gain in space is surmounted by another continuous line of corbelling on each side, altogether thirty-five feet in length, and jutting forward so far towards the north and south, that the lateral walls are actually made to press

their entire weight upon the outer verge of the deep and finely-moulded corbels, with the exception of an inconsiderable portion at the eastern extremities, which rests in the accustomed manner on the walls beneath, beyond the point at which the necessary width for the Chapel had been acquired, without encroachment on the current's passage.

By the same ingenious application of corbels, the Chapel at Rotherham is sprung over two of the arches of the bridge, against a pier of which it is built.

Although the water washes the plinth on both sides, and sometimes rises several feet above the bank, it has never occasioned any material injury to the structure or the material of which it is built.

Stone of two different qualities has been employed.

In the plain and solid parts of the walls throughout, sandstone from the immediate neighbourhood was used, but in the windows and cornices (with slight exceptions in the latter), and the whole of the ornamental work, Roche Abbey stone.

Their resistance to the attacks of time is of course unequal, but it may be remarked that the state of the mouldings and ornaments proves that a material of superior quality could

scarcely have been selected for the purpose; certainly none in which the delicacy of workmanship could have been more exquisitely defined.

Carrying the eye up from the basement to the superstructure, the attention is at once fixed by the altitude of the building; it is also much more considerable as an appendage to a bridge, than any other now remaining in England.

The famous Chapel, before referred to, on the Ouse Bridge at York, was by no means of rival dimensions.

It was of earlier date;—of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

To the former of these periods was to be ascribed the greater portion of its architecture, considerable as were the mutilations of the original design.

The *alteration* effected in the upper part of its walls in the thirteenth century, has sometimes been confused with the rebuilding of the bridge from the foundations, under Archbishop Walter de Grey.

Another circumstance has tended to misapprehension as to its true date—the sentence passed upon the citizens for a fatal conflict, of which the bridge was the scene.

The crime was to be atoned for by their founding a Chantry on the place of slaughter,

and providing two priests to say mass therein for the souls of the slain for ever.

The demand however was not followed by exact performance.

The Bridge-Chapel, just before the date of this event, had been extensively altered and thoroughly restored, and we may suppose presented a lighter, loftier, and more pleasing exterior than anciently with its plain Norman parapets ; and set aside the obligation to build a distinct edifice for the purpose.

The then new work appears to have been raised upon the lower stage of the original fabric ; and whatever may have been the pristine aspect of the exterior of the building, the interior, in its renewed state, was probably inferior in bold enrichment, to the Norman design.

The ancients though daring in the alteration of their buildings, were in general careful to preserve and incorporate some portion of them, however inconsiderable, with the new walls.

If St. William's Chapel escaped demolition partly on account of its ancient dedication, its alteration at a time when the bridge was under re-edification, and at a period too when a great and decisive change had been effected in architectural costume, was perhaps to be expected, and was accordingly undertaken, and the new

architecture engrafted upon the other at the sill-line of the windows; the north doorway, and the wall with the arcade on the inside, being preserved in all their original beauty till the final destruction both of the bridge and Chapel, at the commencement of the present century.

There could have been no rivalry between the Chapels at York and Wakefield; the former was incomparably less elaborate in design than the latter, which could never have been excelled: but it possesses claims to admiration superior to any that can result from an extraordinary display of decoration; namely, elegant proportion, symmetry, and purity of embellishment.

The detail of the exterior presents a time-worn aspect, rather than the appearance of ornament which has perished or been mutilated by violence; much that is within reach may have suffered in this way, but age, by slow process, has more extensively worn away the beautiful finish by which the sculptured elaborations were formerly distinguished; yet, even with this admission, it seems almost impossible to mistake the true character of any of the mouldings or ornaments, how much soever they may be corroded.

A defective feature or member in one place,

may be successfully sought for in another, so as to preclude a doubt of the satisfactory restoration of the Chantry.

The age of the building cannot now be distinctly ascertained from historical records, and where these fail, the architecture invariably proves a valuable guide.

On this authority it may be ascribed to the beginning of the fourteenth century in the reign of King Edward II.

But perhaps something more than an unsupported opinion will be expected on this point.

The curvilinear forms throughout the detail of the Chapel would, alone, afford decisive evidence of its age.

All the perpendicular shafts stop at the springing line of the arches and tracery, and thence immediately curve off to form the different patterns.

This particular constituted one of the chief characteristics of the most magnificent of all the styles of Pointed Architecture; and led to the production of many glorious designs, in which wonderful taste, ingenuity, and skill, were exhibited in windows and other ornamental features.

The style here spoken of commenced in the reign of King Edward I. and was superseded in that of King Edward III. by whose power-

ful patronage William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, was enabled fully to exercise his genius as an Architect, and in whose works, which were distinguished by stateliness of character and magnificent proportion, the *curvilinear* form, as a leading character, was abandoned for the straight, or *rectilinear*, extending uninterruptedly into the arches and separating them into spaces, within each of which a pattern was formed, the whole beautifully arranged and connected, and made to compose a symmetrical design.

The transition just described as tending towards a change in the characteristic varieties of architecture so as to produce a new style, in establishing which the above-named Prelate was mainly instrumental, might be shewn by reference to many contemporaneous specimens.

The union of upright with curvilinear lines obtained for a time; at length the latter were relinquished, the arch only being retained in the composition of tracery.

The ancient east window of the chancel of St. Aldate's Church, Oxford, was a most singular example of the intermediate kind.

It consisted of five compartments, the mullions being carried in continuous parallel lines from the sill to meet the enclosing arch.

The tracery within each division was less

substantial than the uprights, and presented diversified patterns, each of considerable elegance; but an harmonious whole would not have remained upon the removal of the perpendicular shafts by which they were intercepted.

This singular window was restored a few years since, but the copy has lately been replaced by another derived from earlier authority.

The ball-flower in the cornice of the west front should not be allowed to pass unnoticed among the characteristic ornaments of the period to which the Wakefield Chantry is here referred.

The absence of authentic information as to the precise date is the more to be regretted, as we are left without a clue to the Founder, whose name perhaps might have excited no surprise at his liberality in the performance of this pious undertaking.

He projected a work of no common character, and required for his purpose ability of superior power.

Every hand employed was guided by the first-rate skill; and the munificence of the patron encouraged the fullest exercise of a genius fruitful in invention and happy in adaptation.

Allusion has already been made to the origin

of these ancient and very interesting structures, of which numerous examples remain in a more or less dilapidated state, and some on a very small scale.

To this class belongs the Bridge-Chapel at Bradford, in Wiltshire.

This little room, which still retains its doorway on the footpath, and is domed over with ribbed stone-work, appears to have been partially altered or wholly rebuilt from the level of the floor.

The supporting corbels which spring from the faces of one of the angular piers, and over-spread each other, finally terminating in a square platform, present perhaps an almost unequalled specimen of ingenious construction.

The Chapel at Rotherham, however, approaches nearly in point of dimensions to this of Wakefield.

Their interior measurements are respectively thirty-two feet by fourteen feet, and forty feet by sixteen feet eight inches.

The design of the Chapel at Rotherham is plain.

There have been two windows on each side, one at the east end, and one high up, and of small size, at the west end over the entrance.

The pediments and side parapets are em-

battled, and terminated with numerous crocketed pinnacles.

The mullions and tracery of all the windows have been destroyed; and whatever ornamental features may have graced the interior, there is nothing of the kind now visible.

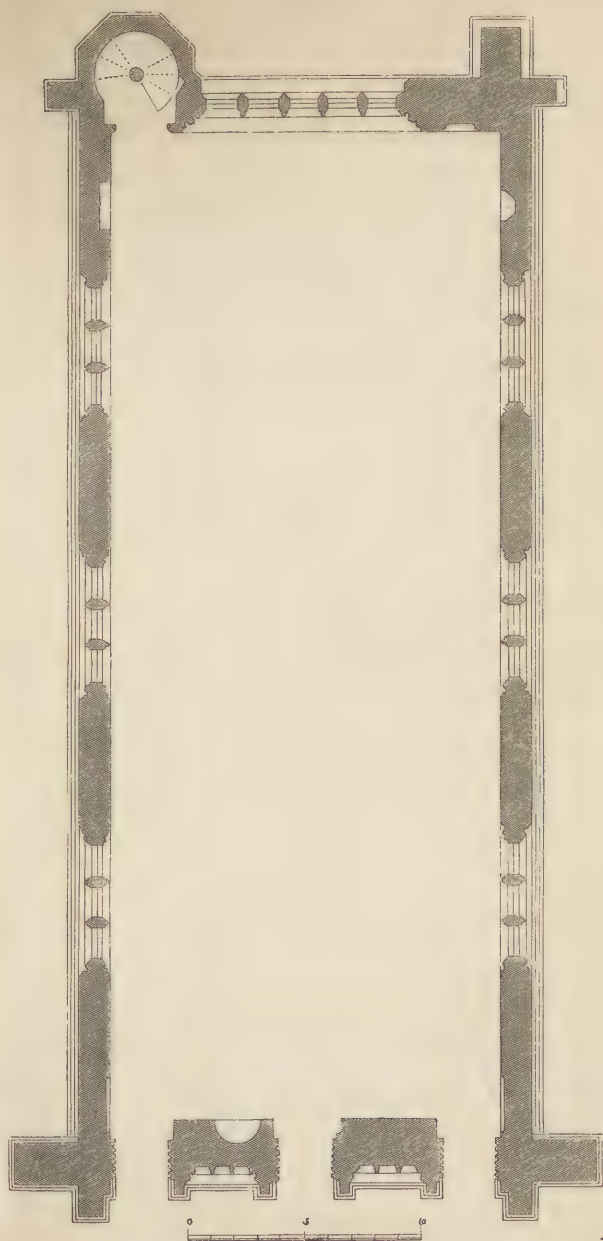
The Chapel on the ancient stone bridge across the Ouse at St. Ives, Huntingdonshire, is in so decayed a condition, owing to the accidents which have happened to it, and to the alterations made in its walls since its appropriation to various mean uses, that its speedy destruction is probable.

It is a small room, built on one of the piers, jutting out on the east side, towards the centre of the bridge.

The Chapel attached to the ancient bridge between London and Southwark measured sixty feet in the clear length.

It was built by Peter Colechurch, in the twelfth century, and the east end was polygonal.

Irregular as is the form of the basement upon which the Chapel at Wakefield is built, yet the four walls meet upon it in a true rectangular figure, without distinction between sanctuary and body, the design being carried out with studied elegance and uniformity in all the features—buttresses, windows, and pinnacles.



PLAN OF THE CHAPEL ON WAKEFIELD BRIDGE.

The north-east angle is varied by a graceful octagonal bell-turret, enclosing the staircase.

The parapets of the west front and sides are horizontal; that over the east end was raised into a slight pediment.

It may seem necessary to remark, that the building here described, so elegant in its character, and so beautifully ornamented, is comprehended in the space of fifty feet in length by twenty-five feet in width, and thirty-six feet in height.

The clustered pinnacles which formerly augmented the beautiful appearance of the structure, carried up the elevation considerably above the latter dimension.

There are five compartments in the width of the west front between the double buttresses on the angles, separated by slender shafts retreating in three stages, and terminating with gablets just above the line of battlements.

The arches within these exactly correspond. Three are pierced with doorways, and the whole range, uniformly adorned with ogee cornices, is surmounted with crocketed pediments, the centre more superbly enriched than the rest.

Their finials mount up to the cornice, which by a steep weathered slope, crowned with cross-looped battlements, terminates the main wall of the building, and supports the recessed parapet.

The spandrels over the arcade are occupied by tracery disposed in the most graceful patterns, springing in conjunction with the pediments, and thence branching off to occupy the entire space allotted to them ; while the crockets and finials on the most prominent members, exhibit, even in their mutilated state, traces of the rich and beautiful variety of foliage of which they have been composed.

Attention may be directed to the bases from which the mullions of the two blank compartments spring. The particular is minute, but these peculiar terminations, which are now indistinct, were, rather more than a quarter of a century since, nearly perfect, and a keen eye may yet discover traces of the mouldings mitring with those of the sill.

The parapet is full of sculptures beneath triple canopies richly groined and ornamented with pinnacles, over which rise the battlements completing the design.

The west front is without a window, and contains the only external doorways the Chapel originally had.

Triple entrances, which often distinguished buildings of magnitude, present by their introduction in an edifice of the present class, a peculiarity worthy of observation.

It is to be remarked that the arches are pierced

so closely to the angles, that the stone-work of the side walls which form their abutments, has been recessed to receive the wooden doors, the substance of which when opened would otherwise have impeded the free passage to the interior.

Each of the profile or side elevations presents three windows of a square form, sheltered with the usual label mouldings, and completely occupying the height of the wall allotted to them between a cornice at their sill, and the master cornice of the building, the position of the latter being determined by the main wall of the west front: the same level was also preserved in springing the original east parapet, which in ornament agreed with those on the sides.

The broad and lofty dimensions of the Altar window, which assumed the pedimental form of the parapet, completely occupied the space between the buttresses on the south angle and the octagonal turret, the greater portion of whose diameter is in advance of the east wall, and being flush with the north side admits the addition of a buttress.

Its altitude above the roof is considerable, and the design of the parapet, which exceeds the diameter of the walls supporting it, may be presumed, from the remains, to have resembled those already described.

It is to be regretted that no very ancient drawings of the Chantry have been handed down to us. Reference, however, of a highly useful kind, may be made to several works of this description which tend to elucidate our researches, viz.:—to a print by Cawthorn, another in “the Vale of Bolton,” and to an original drawing by Henry Lumb of Wakefield, Esq.

The writers have only a few remarks to offer upon the print of the Chapel engraved by W. H. Toms from a drawing by Geo. Fleming, A.D. 1743.

The side windows appear to have been perfect at the time the view was taken, but, unfortunately, the artist has not defined the tracery sufficiently well to render it of any particular value.

It may be observed further, that the summit of the staircase-turret is represented as somewhat more perfect than shewn in any other drawing; and that there were then to be seen larger remains of the eastern gable than are elsewhere recorded.

The engraving in “*Loidis et Elmete*” should not perhaps pass unnoticed, although it adds nothing material to our information.

All these authorities agree in representing the exterior of the Chapel in a melancholy state of ruin so lately as the year 1800, soon after which however it was partially restored.

The undertaking was creditably performed ; as much of the *ancient* masonry as could be found, being collected, and carefully reinstated ; no new stone-work of consequence was added, nor any thing injurious done to the character of the building, and perhaps nothing more was deemed necessary than to keep out the weather, and save the Chapel from irretrievable destruction.

By ancient masonry, the authors must not be understood to mean that it was wholly of the original building. Some valuable portions of it were assuredly of that kind, but by far the greater quantity was of coarse workmanship, and in feeble imitation of those features of the design which had decayed away, fallen down through neglect, or been demolished at the time of the suppression of Chantries.

This leads to the remark that at some period far beyond memory, a *general restoration* of the exterior of the Chapel was undertaken.

An attempt, by no means inexpensive, was made to fill up the gaps produced by age and injury, in stone-work wrought to harmonize with the original, but the intention was superior to the performance.

Several of the canopies in the parapet of the west front, and many of the battlements, may easily be recognised as of the quality alluded

to ; and to the same date must also be referred the eastern and two side parapets, of which the northern, at least, was afterwards by some accident thrown down.

The wall was in this state, and the north angle of the west end quite demolished to the foot of the parapet, when the above drawing and prints were made, thus proving that the Chapel has undergone a second general restoration, which was probably not extended beyond the labour of collecting the dispersed fragments, and refixing them in their places.

It may savour of ingratitude, but nevertheless seems far from incredible to believe that the profits arising from the misappropriation of the interior, enforced some regard for the condition of the exterior :—after all, these were only attempts to keep a ruin in repair.

The staircase-turret retained, within Mr. Lumb's recollection, a portion of its enriched parapet, which when it fell was never restored.

It is melancholy to recollect and record that the superb tracery of the windows was wholly obliterated at this time.

It had often suffered violence, and was pieced and patched in an unsightly manner to exclude the weather from the interior ; but yet enough of the pattern remained to shew the beauty of the original design.



J. C. A. C. DUCKER del.

DELAHOTTE & HEAVISIDE Sc.

TRACERY OF THE SIDE WINDOWS.



Not a vestige however was spared, even the sills were removed, half the substance of the jambs cut away, the labels on the inside destroyed, and the graceless chasms filled with the stone-work which still remains.

It is singular that not a remnant of tracery should have presented itself among the numerous fragments of carved stone-work belonging to the Chapel, brought to light at different times, within and immediately around the building.

The relics which have been recently recovered are of little value.

The last endeavour to prop up the injured walls and buttresses shews itself in the west front.

Material, such as it was, was not spared, but the addition of labour beyond that of fixing the stone, could not be endured; and the huge props of coarse masonry at once sustain and deform the building.

Whether or not these clumsy abutments have had the effect of loosening the hold the four slender buttresses previously had upon the wall, certain it is that these members have disappeared since the year 1813, when they were all in their places and quite perfect.

The present most striking deficiencies in the exterior design of the Chapel are :—the northern turret, and the crocketed pinnacle of that of the

southern angle of the west front; the smaller buttresses between the doors, the mullions and tracery of all the windows, the south-eastern pinnacle, the parapets, and the embattled summit of the octagonal turret enclosing the staircase which ascends to the roof of the building, and conducted to the gloomy room in the basement—a cold and seemingly comfortless cell, scantily lighted by loop windows, and without a fireplace; it answered the purposes of a Sacristy, and was used by the officiating priest during the intervals of the services at the Altar.

During the period of the misuse of this apartment, a door was broken through the east wall, for the purpose of gaining access to the small space of ground which extends a few yards beyond it.

Ponderous oaken beams in the ceiling support the floor of the eastern portion of the Chapel; the western rests on a solid concrete mass forming the remainder of the substructure.

But the catalogue of injuries remains to be completed.

The interior presents a spectacle of unrestrained mischief and deplorable ravage.

Every member and ornament of the architecture which stood in advance of the walls—mouldings, corbels, cornices, buttresses, canopies, and pinnacles—has been hacked away to

prepare the surface for plaster, paper, wood-work, or whatever best suited the convenience (not to say taste) of the occupant, who was not bound to take things as he found them, and consequently did not scruple to mangle, and in places to undermine, the walls which sustained the roof over his head.

These, on all sides, have been excavated in the most barbarous manner for flues or recesses; and the wretched mode in which some of the breaches were repaired after they had served their purpose, testifies regard for common appearance rather than any desire to restore that strength of which the walls had been so unceremoniously defrauded.

Examples of groined or ceiled roofs in oak, of the date of the Wakefield Bridge-Chapel, and the reign which preceded it, are by no means common.

The shamefully desecrated eastern aisle^e of

^e This name is advisedly affixed to the aisle immediately in front of the entrance to the lady choir, to which it serves the purpose of an ante-chapel.

But besides the broad aisle just named, there is another space not nearly so large, and to the west of it, separated by a stone screen, and approached from the north and south, as well as by doorways on the sides of the high altar: this is the feretrey.

The *eastern aisle of the choir* in cathedral and abbey Churches is often erroneously called the presbytery, a name which when used to designate a portion of an English church, is alone applicable to the sanctuary, choir, or chancel.

the choir of St. Alban's Abbey, however, has a panelled ceiling in the broad centre space conducting to the Lady Chapel, and a groined roof in the sides, both aptly combined with the elegant architecture of the building, and of the age of King Edward I.^f

But the specimen more nearly allied than the foregoing to our present subject, is to be seen in the page's room at Penshurst.

This is a flat ceiling of oak, composed of broad ribs placed in close order, and sparingly intersected by others of equal substance in a transverse direction, uniformly wrought with

^f This is one of the most handsome specimens of under-roofing in wood remaining in ancient English architecture, throughout the whole range of which there is not a single instance to be named of imitation work at all resembling those so commonly met with in Normandy, whether in regard to its own antiquity, or that of the Church in which it appears.

In the instances where the larger Anglo-Norman buildings were not groined with stone, the naked timbers, now concealed from view, have been underlined with ceilings or groined roofs many ages after the completion of the structure.

But this was not the case in Normandy, and attention should be directed to the fact, because it is not generally known, at least by English antiquaries who have described the ecclesiastical architecture of that part of France, that many of the noblest parish and monastic Churches which seem to present stone roofs groined in keeping with the pillars by which the ribs are supported, and with the rest of the design, are of plaster on wood framework, most probably of subsequent date to the fabric, but so well combined, and remaining in most cases so free from injury and decay as to have escaped common observation.

mouldings with the characteristic *fillet* on the more prominent members—a particular of detail deserving of remark, as it constitutes a distinguishing feature in the style of architecture now under consideration, and is seen in great variety of position, and to the utmost advantage throughout the design of the Wakefield Chantry.

The roof reposed its weight upon the walls without the assistance either of side brackets in the piers of the windows or tie-beams.

The latter would have interfered with the arch of the Altar window, though raised upon the summit of the projecting stone cornice by which the walls on the inside are terminated.

The beams and rafters in the course of time, and in consequence of neglect, were destroyed, and replaced by others to which strength alone was given.

The present roof is certainly of considerable age; it is of English oak, massy and plain, with a tie-beam, king-post, and struts, the archetype of the truss now in common use; it is covered with stone slabs, and has, partly by these means, become too heavy for the side walls, which from several concomitant causes incline outwards—a result in no way surprising when the slenderness of their substance, sixteen inches, is considered.

But even the west wall, the most substantial of the four, has yielded to successive injuries ; the bond in the masonry has been intersected, a mischief which, in addition to the fractures occasioned by a settlement, and extending longitudinally through the centre of its bulk, has seriously crippled this important part of the edifice.

The construction is peculiar in many points, owing no doubt to the limited dimensions of the building, and the unusual form of its basement.

The bond in a thin wall can neither be so regular nor so secure as in one more solid ; but still the original strength was sufficient : and it may safely be declared, that if the Chapel had been protected from extreme violence, its strength and beauty would have remained, in all essential respects, unimpaired.

The care manifested in loading the walls so that only a due weight should press on the basement, is a merit in the design and construction of this building to which too much praise cannot be given.

The consequence of reducing the side walls to comparative lightness is apparent in the jambs of the windows, which have sufficient breadth of moulding, but very little recess or depth on either side.

Substance of wall is required more for the purpose of carrying into execution the *retreating character*, or graduated arrangement of several planes one beyond another in the formation of all openings, than for strength ; and this is observable in all the architecture of England before the commencement of the thirteenth century, after which period it was abandoned, and the members were blended together, still however retaining the aggregate depth in an elaborate series of mouldings.

The narrow space in the instance before us prevented their expansion ; but in others, where no slender limit was assigned to the thickness of the walls and arches, and full freedom was used in spreading the mouldings through a great portion of their substance, the system was worked out with admirable skill.

The southern angle of the west front leans considerably towards the west, and its recovery to an erect position will require the utmost care, and the temporary removal of at least the shaft which crowns the summit.

The oblique direction of this elegant feature most probably occasioned the fall of its lofty pinnacle.

The accident at this angle of the building is not of modern date, and no perceptible increase of it has taken place within the last forty years.

The north-west angle was in a far worse condition before the last general repairs were made to prevent this part of the building from falling.

The defects on the outside are tolerably well concealed, but strong evidences remain on the inside, of the severity of the fractures.

The remains of the turret prove that it once rose from the parapet in the same figure and proportions as the corresponding one at the south-west angle, and that, like it, the four sides were recessed, the pedestals of the niches being incorporated with the canopies of other niches terminating the angle buttresses.

The pinnacles are the crowning members of the clustered canopies.

Their original height is determined by the breadth and slope of the base which forms the solid of the canopies, around which are thickly gathered the exquisite ornaments which once protected the statues.

A peculiarity in the position of the crockets on the lower pinnacles of the angle buttresses, claims particular notice.

These ornaments generally spring from the edges, but in the instances before us, are attached to the alternate *faces* of the octagons.

The effect is scarcely less ornamental or less pleasing than the design is novel.

The tie between the north and west walls is completely severed, the gap being several inches wide.

These facts account for the dilapidated state of the parapet, as seen in the prints before referred to, and for its restoration as it now appears, after the substructure had been strengthened to support the weight.

The view in the "Vale of Bolton" must again be referred to. It distinctly represents the projection of the two extreme buttresses of the west front as considerably bolder than the rest; and the accuracy of the drawing is placed beyond question by the appearance of the mutilated buttress near the southern angle of the beautiful original: if the south face of this buttress be examined just above the modern stonework, it will be seen that *one half* of a panel, with its elegantly disposed tracery, and a finial on the angle of the upper or retreating member of the same buttress, are still remaining.

This panel completed, gives the buttress its due and proper prominence.

Upon Cawthorn's authority, supported by that of Mr. Lumb, attention may be directed to the lower portions of the larger buttresses which flank the elevation, and are *panelled*.

These in the building are now made quite plain, and reduced in bulk for the same reason

that may be assigned for the utter defacement of the lower part of the entire facade, namely, the want of space on the bridge.

The four smaller buttresses in the front, terminating in crocketed pediments above the battlements, are no longer remaining; nor is the finial which, thirty years ago, surmounted the ogee canopy within the pediment over the centre doorway.

The exquisite design and proportion of the east elevation are still conspicuous, unsparingly as ruin has lighted upon its fair turrets, magnificent window, and graceful parapet.

The latter was elevated in the form of a gable (indicated by Cawthorn and others), the inclination of which corresponded with the stone cornice on the inside.

The form of the head of the east window, a portion of which still remains, is determined by the cornice: the side labels descending from its mouldings, are still discernible on the inside.

Notwithstanding the barbarous injuries which have been inflicted on the interior wall of the elegant staircase-turret, and the removal of several of the stone steps, with the newel, this appendage, as well as the whole of the east front of the Chapel with which it is connected, remains as erect as it was left by the original

builders, and needs only the restitution of those members of which it has been deprived, to perfect its solidity and good appearance.

The east window consisted of five compartments. Cawthorn's print alone supplies a hint for any part of the design; slender as it is it becomes useful, and agrees with the character exemplified by the lateral windows, in the main divisions of the space into side arches deriving their mouldings from those of the jambs and mullions, and leaving a broad centre for a superior or more varied pattern of tracery.

The six smaller windows on the sides were uniform, very handsome, and of three compartments.

The highest testimony of their splendour is preserved by Mr. Lumb in a drawing of the Chapel, made by himself about forty years since, borne out by Fleming's venerable engraving.

The beautiful design of the windows, as represented in the annexed woodcut, and their highly-wrought mouldings, are still vividly remembered by Mr. Lumb, whose memoranda in reference to these features are most valuable.

The present windows, with their wretched substitutes for mullions and tracery, are named merely because they retain the form and posi-

tion of the pointed arch in the original design ; but the peculiar partition of this arch, by which the pattern of the tracery becomes disconnected, is alone to be found in the drawing above referred to.

It may be well to observe, that the subdivision of the arch in this manner is not singular in the design of the Chantry : the same kind of tracery is presented by the arches between the doors, and in the fronts of the two extreme buttresses at the west end.

The square form of these windows, and the pedimental shape of the east window, rarely appear in the style of this period.

But even in still earlier architecture the same shapes sometimes occur, as instanced in the Chancel of Skipwith Church, Yorkshire ; and perhaps for the same reason as may be assigned for their introduction in this Chapel—the want of space for arches of sufficient magnitude ; for had the arches been detached from their frames, the appearance of their having been forced into a space not lofty enough to receive them, could not have been avoided ; but by reducing the arch to a secondary feature, so as to combine with the tracery, the enclosing frame may fairly be carried up, as in this instance, to the cornice, with which it ranges in parallel lines, and make the increased extent of enrichment, thus pro-

vided in the windows, appear in just proportion to that of the rest of the design.

The exact section of the mouldings of the interior labels of the windows may be ascertained from fragments, which, having been wrought on the same blocks of stone as those forming the cornice, could not, without more trouble than was deemed necessary, be wholly obliterated by the destroyers.

This character of suspending the labels from the cornice is maintained in every instance, inside and out.

Their length is half the height of the windows, including the corbels, of which no intelligible trace remains on the inside.

The authors have observed the careless remark in the "Beauties of England and Wales," that the "*parapets are perforated*;" but as there is no record in writing of earlier date than the indisputably authentic drawing already so often quoted, and as this valuable document, by shewing a fragment attached to the octagonal turret, advances a firm step towards proof that the parapets were panelled with a succession of solid compartments, they base their ideas upon the highest authority within their reach.

The parapet, as expressed by Mr. Lumb, is certainly incomplete, and was most probably originally surmounted by battlements, in accord-

ance with those on the west front ; and it seems most likely that the equivocal term used in the above work was intended to describe the embrasures between them.

The present termination has always been regarded as a coarse and unskilful imitation of the ancient, in the execution of which no attempt was made to restore the original model, the object alone being to furnish the building with the best appearance, at the least possible cost.

Its height is three feet ten inches and a half, but a considerably greater addition would have been required for a pierced summit.

Had any trace of a finishing ornament of the kind remained, it would surely have been remarked by Mr. Lumb, who knew the Chapel well, many years before the hasty description penned for the " Beauties " was committed to the press. But the whole description of the design of the Chapel is not merely worthless, it is mischievous, inasmuch as it leads those who, having neither eyes nor understanding of their own, repeat errors which the most ordinary observation would detect and set aside.

" Gothic, or Saracenic Architecture "—" East window overhanging the river," and " perforated parapets," are statements not warranted

by facts, and must be despised by all who are unwilling to be misguided.

And yet these glaring inaccuracies have been reprinted in modern publications of value and importance.

The sculpture in the marvellous design of the west front is of the most interesting description.

The five divisions in the parapet were filled with subjects derived from the inspired narratives of the sacred life of our Saviour, flanked at each extremity by six whole-length statues in niches in two tiers, forming with their lofty canopies the summits of the buttresses.

The statues have been demolished, but the sculptures wrought in the solid blocks forming the parapet have escaped, except with the loss of limbs and features, of which latter time chiefly has deprived them.

These sculptures were wholly worked after the parapet was built, and, as was not unfrequently the case, left incomplete.

The first in order, but the one reserved to the last for the sculptor's art, was designed for the reception of a representation of the **Annunciation**.

The block is slightly roughed out for the figures of St. Gabriel and the Blessed Virgin.

This was a favourite subject formerly, and its frequent introduction shews the fervour of the pious adoration with which our forefathers viewed the divine condescension and mercy manifested in the Holy Incarnation.

It may be seen twice repeated on the porch of the gateway of Radford Abbey, Nottinghamshire; on the front of the tower of Banwell Church, Somersetshire; and among the ruins of Rievaulx Abbey.

The Annunciation is also represented on the tower gateway of St. Mary's or New College, Oxford, as well as within the quadrangles; and was the first of a series of highly-relieved figures in the choir, over the Altar, illustrative of the same five prominent mysteries as those selected for the edification of the devout at Wakefield.

The ancient statuary referred to at Oxford, together with the richly-carved and painted screens, and the oaken stall-work—the spoils of the Chapel, were huddled together in the tower, where they remained until thirty years since, when they were rescued for a time from further indignity, by the good taste of the Reverend Dr. Penrose, but the ledge which he caused to be fixed for their reception against one of the

walls of the cloisters, has lately been removed, and the sculptures, together with the tablet commemorative of their sacrilegious treatment, are now deposited near the floor, preparatory to their extermination, which seems likely soon to follow the mutilations already recommenced and invited by their present exposure.

FRAGMENTA · HÆC

ALTARIS · IN · MVRO · CAPELLÆ · TRANSVERSALI

A · FVNDATORE · EXTRVCTI

IVSSV · ROB · HORNE · EPISC · WINT · SÆCVLO · XVI
DEMOLITI.

CVSTOS · ET · SCHOLARES · HVIVS · COLLEGII

HIC · TANDEM · COLLOCANDA

CVRAVERVNT.

ANNO · CIO IO CCC XIV

As a comparative description of the New College Sculptures with those in front of the Chapel at Wakefield may prove interesting, the authors subjoin the following remarks upon their respective distinctions.

I. The Annunciation.

NEW COLLEGE.

St. Mary stands in a dignified posture, yet full of humility and grace, holding an open book in her left hand, being visited in that private preparation of heart by which she became fitted for the fulfilment of the Divine promise.

The flourishing emblem of purity occupies the middle of the panel, and the messenger of the joyful tidings concerning the Incarnation of God the Son, approaches in an attitude of obeisance indicative of his profound reverence and admiration in the presence of the Blessed Virgin, whom he greets with the angelical salutation.

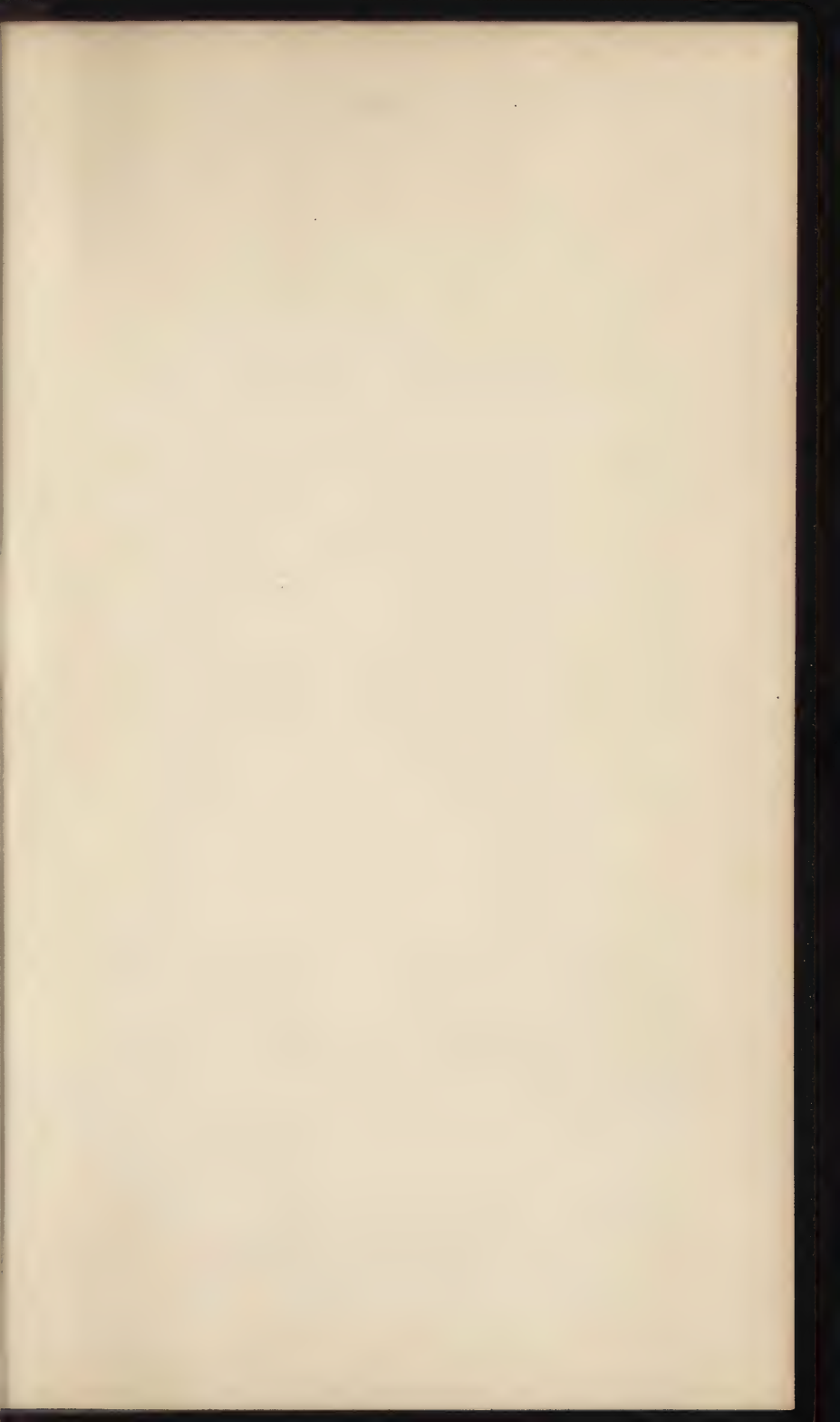
WAKEFIELD BRIDGE-CHAPEL.

The stone beneath the triple canopy was merely prepared to receive the sculpture.

II. The Holy Nativity.

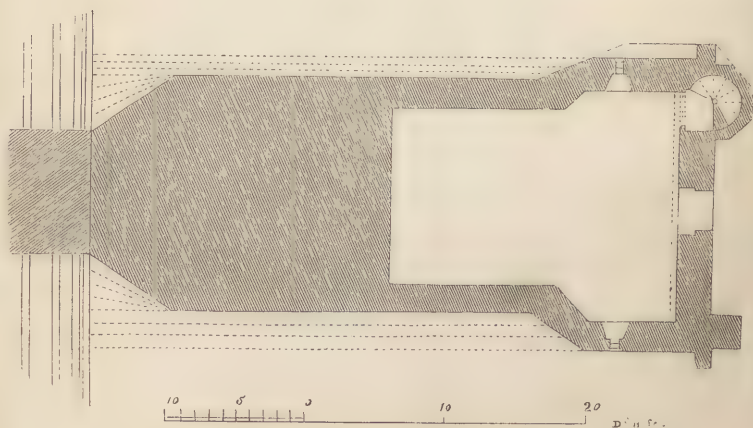
The infant Saviour rests on the right arm of his highly favoured mother, who is ex-

Our Saviour is supported on the right arm of St. Mary, who reclines on a kind of





SCULPTURE IN THE CENTRAL COMPARTMENT OF THE WEST FRONT.



PLAN OF THE BASEMENT

NEW COLLEGE.

tended on a couch, in front of which an ox and an ass, according to the ancient tradition, are lying within a hurdled enclosure.

Towards the feet, and in a wattled chair, sits the chaste spouse of the Blessed Virgin.

WAKEFIELD BRIDGE
CHAPEL.

rustic couch, with her head resting on a tasselled cushion.

St. Joseph is seen at her feet, and in the background the two animals in front of the rack; whilst the announcing Angel appears overhead.

XXX. The Glorious Resurrection of our Lord.

The Redeemer is rising out of the tomb, and in front, two completely armed soldiers are starting up in confused amazement.

A kneeling Angel is represented on each side of the rising figure; and beneath, three guards, set to keep watch over the monument, clad as knights, and holding heater-shaped shields, terrified by the vision and earthquake.

IV. The Ascension of our Blessed Lord.

The figure of our Saviour emerges from the cloud which received Him out of human sight.

In front are two kneeling figures with nimbs, and their hands raised, as if to hide their faces from the brightness of His glory; and on either side the beholders, all having nimbs, with uplifted hands.

The lower part of the figure of our Saviour fills the centre canopy; beneath, His holy Apostles, six seated in front, and five behind, are gazing upward in attitudes of astonishment.

The contour of these figures,

NEW COLLEGE.

WAKEFIELD BRIDGE-
CHAPEL.

the expression of surprise and adoration, and the boldness of the sculpture, are still discernible, barbarously as the whole has been defaced.

**V. St. Mary crowned, accompanied by
St. Anne.**

The sculpture in this instance is wretchedly defaced, but in its remains, presents a general resemblance to the one at Wakefield.

The holy women are seated upon the tomb, which is made to occupy the entire length of the stone, and has a ledge or step whereon their feet rest.

The figure on the left is turned in profile towards the other.

This design appears to have been composed with reference to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and to have been chosen, along with the other subjects, from among the fifteen mysteries selected for meditation in the devotion of the Rosary.

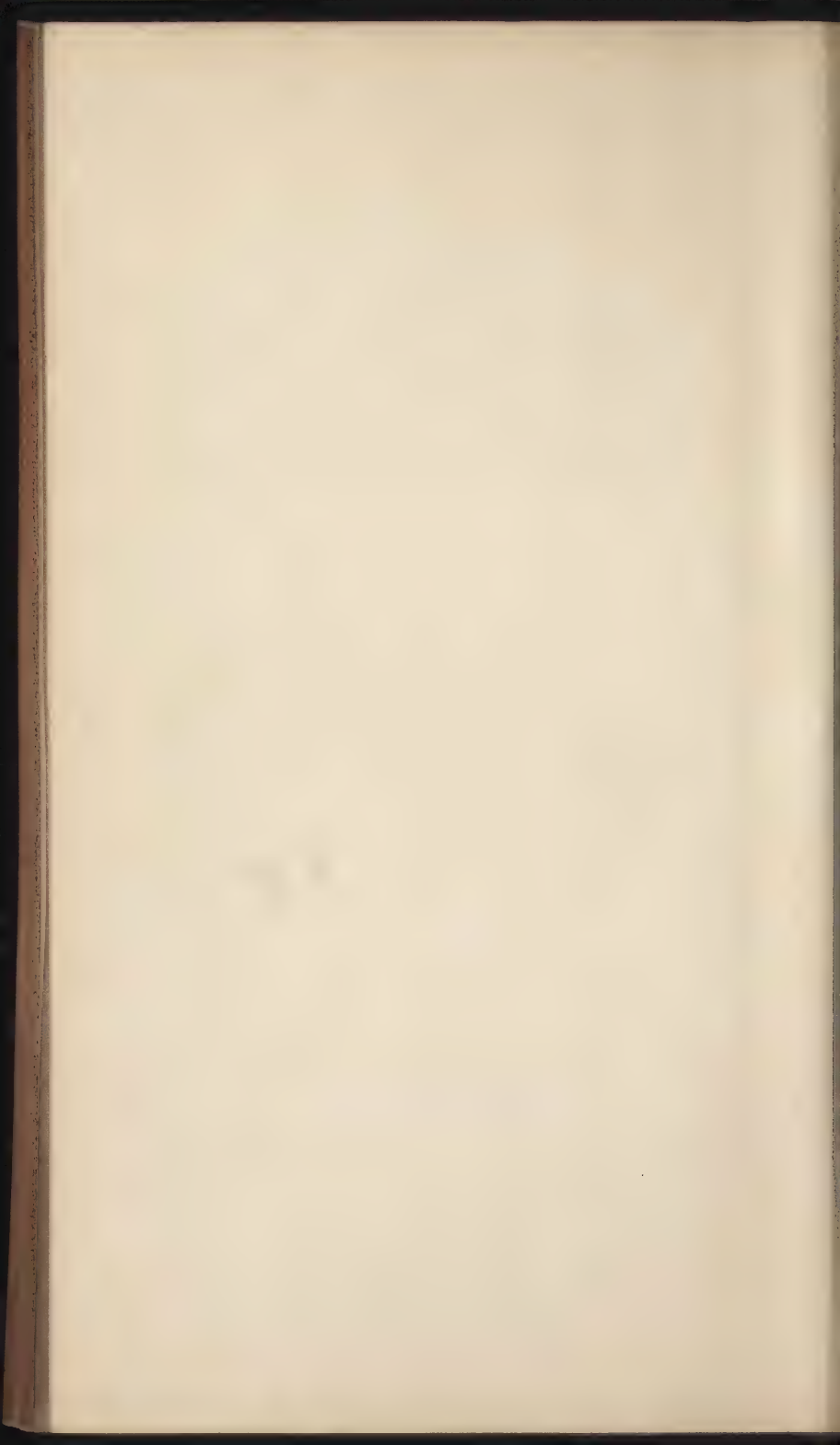
The introduction of the empty tomb bears allusion to the pious belief of her bodily translation.

It is altar-shaped, as in the other examples, and has a screen at the back; the ledger is removed, leaving the top apparently open; the front was decorated with pierced lozenge quatrefoils and spandrels, now sadly broken away.

Two Angels are represented behind, and the figures sit one on each side of the tomb, St. Mary being distinguished by a crown.



SCULPTURE IN THE FIFTH COMPARTMENT OF THE WEST FRONT



It is unknown to whom the full length statues which occupied the twelve elevated niches in the front of the Chapel at Wakefield, referred.

Two of them were pre-eminently distinguished by their size and situation, and are likely to have represented St. Anne and St. Joachim.

The pedestals upon which they stood, remain in every instance, variously formed and ornamented, and several upheld by Angels with expanded wings.

The subjects just described cannot but be regarded as masterly specimens of sculptural design, and were not the only portions reserved for the finer finish of detail till after the erection of the structure.

Probably the whole of the ornamental carving, the greater part of which is of the most delicate description, was produced upon a roughened surface; for unless this had been the case the accuracy of the jointings could not have been preserved; and the process would at once account for a small space left incomplete in the *diaper* over the middle doorway^g.

^g The term *diaper* seems clearly applicable to the peculiar kind of decoration referred to.

It is in fact, a *surface ornament*, employed to obliterate blank spaces of stone-work in Churches, screens, or monuments designed to exhibit more than usual care in the enrichment; and is variously applied on the outside and inside of the buildings of all periods.

The practice mentioned was more common anciently than it is now, but whatever the system by which so much exquisite enrichment was incorporated with the design, the wonder is that the stone on which it was thus elaborately executed, should so long have resisted the attacks of time.

The writers dwell not with admiration upon the *quantity* of ornament in the design, but rather upon the pure and refined taste exercised in its selection and execution.

Nothing grotesque in conception nor coarse in workmanship is observable. All the forms are genuine, and such as pertain to the best specimens of the architecture of the period.

Foliage has supplied a rich variety of patterns, to the exclusion of other models so often and so elegantly appropriated to ecclesiastical architecture.

Heraldry could not find room for so much as

The doors at Much Wymondley in Hertfordshire, and Chipping Ongar in Essex; the nave of Rochester Cathedral, the approach to the undercroft at Canterbury, and the tower of St. Ethelbert belonging to the Monastery of St. Augustine, present good specimens in the Norman style.

Among later, the interior of Westminster Abbey, the choir and Chapter House of Canterbury Cathedral, Waltham Cross, the high altar screen in Selby Abbey, the rood screen in Lincoln Cathedral, the monument of Gervase Alard, in Winchelsea Church, Sussex, and that of Bishop Hatfield at Durham, may be named on account of the beauty of their diaper-work.

a single device in any part of the building, unless indeed we may suppose it to have been employed for the enrichment of the stone corbels, or the carved wood-work in the interior, and to have disappeared with the features to which it was attached.

The architecture of the fourteenth century was in general rich in ornament of the kind; Abbey Churches as well as Cathedrals frequently present a vast variety of armorial emblems; but it may be that the founder of this Chapel purposely excluded a kind of memorial which, in many cases, has remained to identify benefactors with the monuments of their piety after other tradition or record had perished.

Modern architects are taught a valuable lesson by this beautiful structure.

They will observe that the ornaments throughout its design are subservient to the main constituent features.

Its author was obedient, comparatively diminutive as was the scale upon which he was employed, to this established principle, which was scrupulously observed until invaded and almost subverted by the preponderating influence of ornament towards the latter end of the fifteenth century.

In the present example, which so finely illus-

trates the system just referred to, the buttresses, pediments, arches, in short the *outline* of the design, viewed in connexion with the highly ornamented surface of the wall, is exhibited in strong relief.

A blank superficies is not to be seen in the west front, and yet there is no want of solidity in its appearance, so admirably have the ornaments been made to assist as well as enrich the effect of the general design.

The comparatively modern restoration of some of the ornamental work before alluded to, remains to be further noticed.

Several of the canopies in the parapet, and of the battlements which surmount it, may be ascribed to the first general repairs of the Chapel made sometime in the seventeenth century.

There is some merit in these imitations, but their juxtaposition with genuine specimens forces an unfavourable comparison.

The coarse stone in which they are executed has however been well attached to the ancient work, and thus far we view it as a successful example of the process of repair.

Before closing the remarks upon this most interesting part of the building, it is to be observed that the straight line of battlement which terminates the front, is strictly in keep-

ing, true as it is that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, steep gables were usually characteristic of the edifices of the age.

The omission of this feature in the present instance, and the repetition of the horizontal line throughout the elevation, relieved only by prominent buttresses, and aspiring pinnacles, was doubtless maintained to preserve such a harmony in the design as certainly no other form could have rendered more completely elegant.

The furniture, by having been swept from the Chantry upon its suppression, leaves to conjecture the probable partition of the interior, and the order of the seats on the sides.

These, separated by an avenue in the centre, were ranged between the screen at the lower end, and the Sanctuary or Altarpiece, which was raised above the floor by a single step.

In the choirs of cathedral, monastic, collegiate, and parish Churches, as in college Chapels, the stalls for the clergy were invariably arranged in lines parallel with the side walls, while the seats for the laity in the nave, were placed in the opposite direction, or facing the east.

The oaken stall-work in the Chapel of St. John's Hospital, now used as the Grammar

School, in Coventry, may be named as one of the most entire specimens now remaining.

These magnificent stalls were removed from the Church of the Grey Friars, and must have completely furnished a choir of vast extent. They are as old as the commencement of the fourteenth century, and seem to have escaped injury until their exposure to mischief in their present situation.

The screen, extending across the width of the Chapel, and parting off ten or twelve feet in length from the west end, determined the ante-chapel or vestibule—a free and very useful space in this kind of building, and one without which due order could not at all times have been preserved, as the doors were seldom closed, nor the place unoccupied, though there were intervals in the regular services.

The Janitor was present to bestow the accustomed alms, and issue written orders to certify at the gate of the Monastery in view, or the Hospital on the way, the arrival of worthy travellers from the Wayside Chapel.

The stone seat he occupied is formed in the west wall, between two of the doors: it is a handsome feature of the original design, having had side buttresses, and a crocketed canopy nearly resembling those of the niches in the buttresses of the west front.

The Altar formerly attached to the east wall has been destroyed^h.

A small but very beautiful panel, hemmed in with modern masonry, is the only ornamental fragment of the piscina, now remaining. It occupies its original position beneath the recess, at the back of which was a little window of two compartments, whose former existence is only known by an original drawing in the Bodleian Library.

No traces are observable either of a sedilis on the south side of the Sanctuary or of a stoup at the west end: these were not unfrequently moveable articles of furniture; the one a seat of wood for the officiating priest, the other a small vessel of metal for the water of purification to be used on entering the chapel.

The beautiful character of the niche at the east end, and on the south side of the Altar, is indicated by the state of the wall from which the lofty pinnacles, the tall and tapering canopy,

^h As the remains of Norman altars are very rare, it may be well to observe that a curious relic of this kind and age is preserved in the garden of the rectory-house at Dunham Magna, in Norfolk.

It consists of a large portion of the top stone, five inches in thickness, finished with mouldings, and enriched with the indented star-ornament.

When perfect it measured about five feet nine inches in length, and three feet one inch in width, and was impressed with the five small crosses.

and the elevated pedestal, have been sacrilegiously chipped away.

The overhanging form of the canopy is shewn by the upper part of the recess, which was ribbed in an elaborate pattern over the head of the statue of St. Mary.

The recess in the north wall, over the Altarpace, may at first sight be conjectured to have been designed for an ambry, but its antiquity, as well as its purpose, must be acknowledged equally uncertain: the masonry is quite rough, and the depth very irregular.

If it were ever graced with enrichments worthy its position, these, with the label and all the accompanying mouldings, have been removed, and the opening filled to the surface.

The absence of capitals as crowning members of the jambs and mullions, may be remarked as uncommon; nothing of the kind occurs in any part of the Chapel.

Economy in space obliged the uprights of the doors to be singularly narrow, but they are deeply recessed, and formed of numerous mouldings, which are continued on the arches without interruption at the springer.

As there are no capitals, no members in the design are to be distinguished as columns or pillars, names usually assigned to a torus,

however slender, wherever it is distinguished with capital and base.

Traces of painting are still discernible upon the walls in the interior.

The enrichments of the architecture left but few blank spaces for decorations of this kind, but these, whatever their extent, and probably also the whole interior surface,—mouldings, sculptures, and windows, were formerly covered with fresco, which was in high perfection in England during the fourteenth century.

Gilding was added to enrich its effect, and harmonize in splendour with the painted glass.

It seems surprising that hands were found mischievous enough to commence and carry on the work of spoliation in a little Wayside Asylum like this, so exquisitely beautiful in all its finishings, and which had been so long devoted to sacred purposes; but its costlier appurtenances, the gold and silver with which the Altar was doubtless graced, were irresistible; these brought down desecration and destruction upon the building; and what the rapacity of former times spared, has been ignorantly reduced in later, and a crippled shell remains to prove the taste and liberality of the present age in the work of restoration.

The consolation which has carried the writers somewhat patiently through an examination

and description of the injuries to which the fabric of this beautiful Chapel has been subjected, arises from the conviction they have all along felt, that it retains sufficient strength on all sides to insure its perfect restitution, if not to its original solidity and perfection, certainly to a condition calculated to preserve the exquisite beauty of its design for ages.

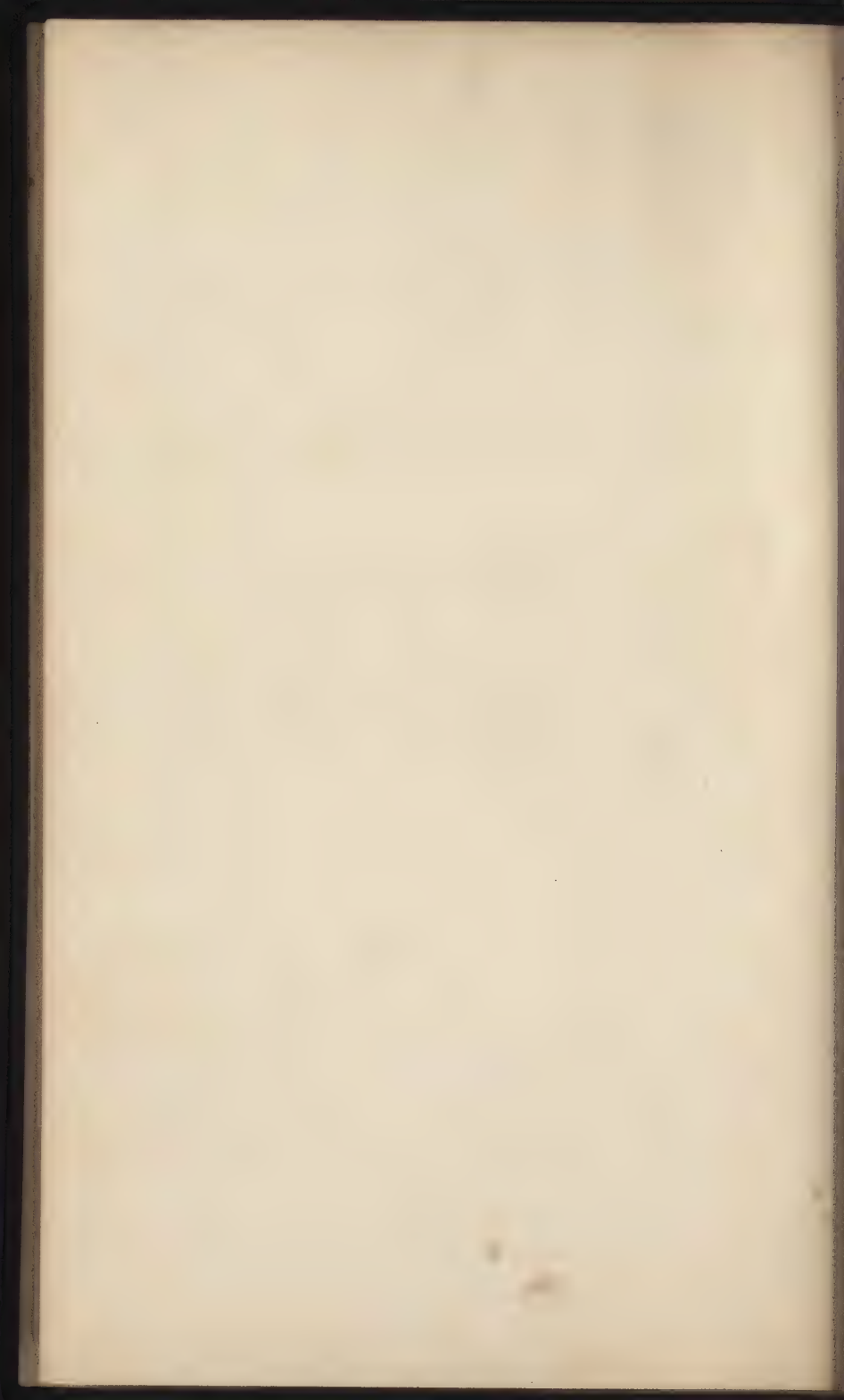
The advancing efforts we now witness to atone, in some measure, for the havoc which has been committed among the monuments of our Ecclesiastical Architecture during the last three centuries, are truly creditable to the present one.

It is now generally admitted that the almost numberless Churches and Chapels which within that fanatic period have been wantonly dilapidated or entirely destroyed, would have been of inestimable value in these times, if motives as patriotic as those which influenced Honorius to spare *heathen* temples, could have penetrated the blindly prejudiced minds of the perpetrators who brought down such indiscriminate destruction upon sacred edifices in every quarter of the kingdom.

Regret for the past is unavailing: it is however matter for congratulation that the structures which did escape demolition are at length appreciated, and the Yorkshire Architectural

Society is to be honoured for the strenuous endeavour to redeem from ruin, and re-dedicate to the services of religion, a choice specimen which has sustained its full share of desecration and injury.

THE END.







THE CHAPEL
OF
KING EDWARD III.
ON
WAKEFIELD BRIDGE;
OR
AN IMPROVED ESSAY
ON THIS AND OTHER
ANCIENT BRIDGE CHANTRIES:

INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF

The Battle of Wakefield,

AND MUCH ANTIQUARIAN REMARK ON THE WHOLE.

BY

NORRISON SCATCHERD, ESQ.

Author of the "History of Morley,"—"Memoirs and Gleanings of Eugene Aram,"—
A former "Essay on Bridge Chapels," &c.

"We think upon her Stones, and it pitieth us to see her in the dust."

Psalm 102, v. 14.

LONDON:

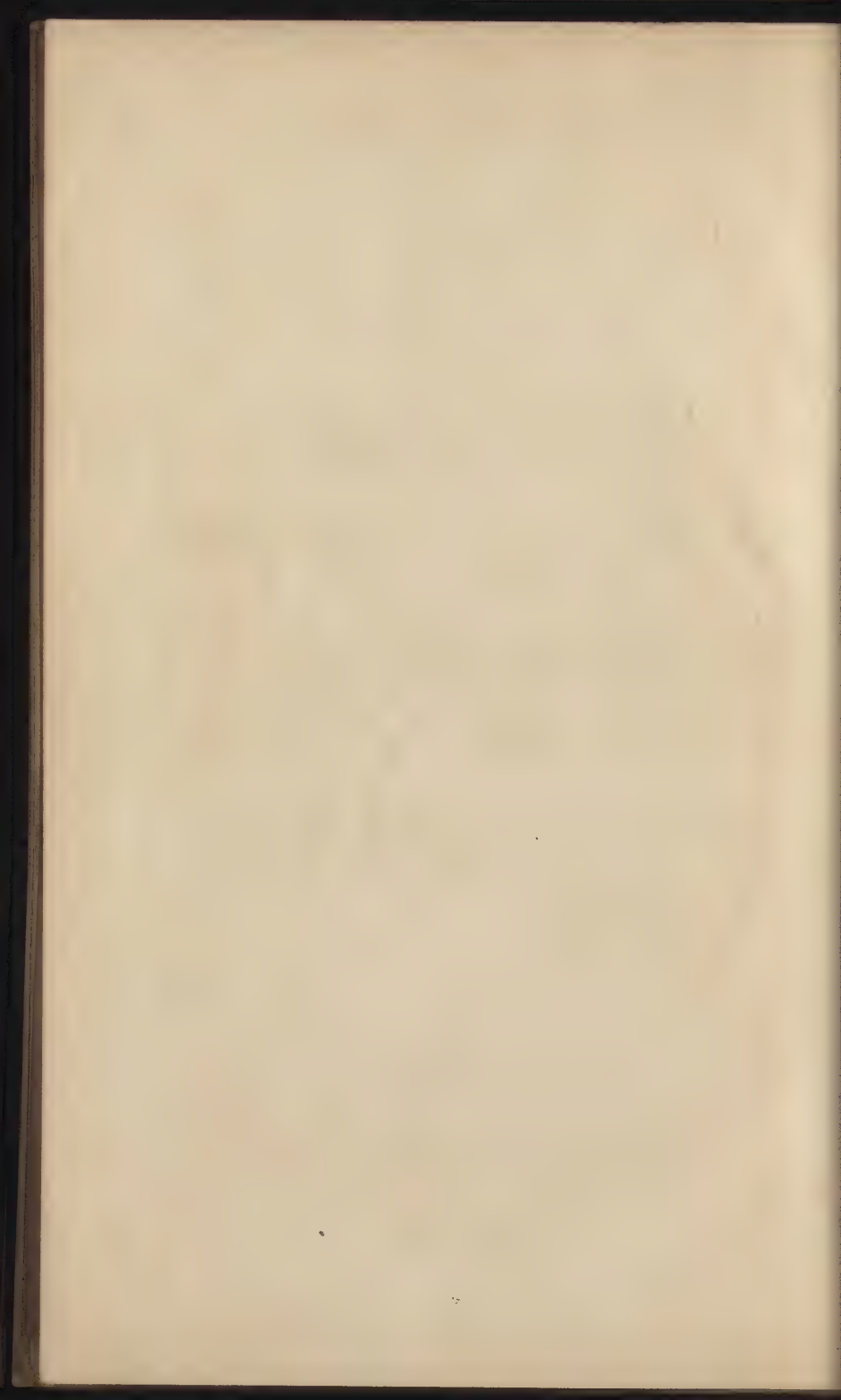
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WHITLEY & BOOTH, HALIFAX; KEMP, HUDDERSFIELD.

MDCCCXLIII.



DEDICATION.

TO THE NATIVES OF WAKEFIELD.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

When first I appeared in print (fifteen years ago), the subject of my pen was, "A Dissertation on Ancient Bridge Chapels; and especially that remarkable edifice on Wakefield Bridge, commonly, but erroneously, called the Chapel of Edward the Fourth." The novelty of the subject, and my peculiar taste, and the rumour, that a similar Tract was designed by another person, at that time, prompted me to write almost entirely from memory; and, after the short lapse of three days, to hurry through the press a trifle which was scarcely worthy of the public notice. Yet, the same success attended it which my subsequent amusements have commanded; and, for many years past, not a single copy could be bought up. This circumstance, and a change of affairs well known at Wakefield, and the solicitations of many friends, has induced me to dedicate, to my fellow-countrymen, a Tract more worthy, as I hope, of their acceptance. My object is twofold. It is, first, to shew them what a **JEWEL** they possess in their Bridge Chapel. And, secondly, to raise a small sum for the **RESTORATION** of this beautiful Lady Chapel, from her decay. Having already written two letters for the Wakefield Journal on the subject, and sent a subscription for **THIS PURPOSE**, it will surely be credited, that if any surplus, beyond the expenses of the publication of this Tract, should arise, it will, assuredly, be applied to the original purpose.

PEOPLE OF YORKSHIRE! I do not, *now*, attempt to surprise you, by any account of that stupendous mind which, at the age of fourteen years,—instead of meditating (according to the course of nature) upon whips and tops, hoops and marbles, or bats and balls,—was wholly intent upon "quadratic equations and their geometrical constructions," until it was *seduced* from "the heavier **BEAUTIES** of lines and numbers," by the goodly fraternity of Messrs. Hesiod and Homer, Theocritus or Virgil, Euripides or Plato,—of a man,* in short,

* Eugene Aram.

whose imperial fancy would fain have laid all Nature under tribute, while he "followed pleasure *through a THOUSAND FIELDS*;" but I present you with a CURIOSITY of another kind—a Chapel of the glorious reign of Edward the THIRD: built at a time when architecture was in its meridian splendour, but the country a continual succession of forests or of waste! A Chapel which must, together with its co-eval Bridge, have advanced the trade and commerce of the country in a surprising degree! A Chapel which, if not a guide to the navigator by day, was an asylum and sanctuary to the pilgrim, the pedler, or the palmer by night! A Chapel which has stood amidst scenes which, could I present them to your view, you might fancy yourselves removed to some other state of existence: or the whole would appear like the illusions of the fancy in the visions of the night! Kings or queens, peradventure, coming on pilgrimages barefoot,* and bringing rich necklaces for the Virgin!—Nobles flying to sanctuary for protection, from fields of battle!—Beauteous maidens prostrated at the foot of a crucifix!—Groups of passengers bowing at the elevation of the Host!—The solitary and benighted traveller refreshed or protected!—The stern and severe ascetic cherished and directed!—And the priests (the toll-takers) soliciting a voluntary offering from each succeeding passenger!—Think, in short, on Chaucer's motley assemblage travelling to Canterbury, and then think on our LADY CHAPEL!

If these and other recollections fail to rouse, in support of "MY little favourite," our Antiquarian,—Camden and Architectural Societies, and one, at least, of the Secret Orders (the "Free and Accepted Masons"), they are, in my opinion, "humbugs;"—their members are NOT of the school of Camden, Stow, Speed, and Hutton;—they are not "true men;"—and were I empowered to make each man do penance, I would order him to travel, on foot, the whole length of the Roman Wall.

N. SCATCHERD.

Morley, January 2nd, 1843.

* Spelman informs us that in 1510, Henry the Eighth made a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, *barefooted*, and carried her, as a present, *a rich necklace*.—Columbus did much the same thing under Henry Seventh.—See, moreover, Dugdale's St. Paul, by Ellis, p. 16.—Henrietta Maria's penances are well known.

THE BRIDGE CHAPEL.

Such are the historical recollections, and such the association of ideas which stand in connection with the ancient Chantry Chapel on Wakefield Bridge, in the mind, at least, of the TRUE Antiquary, that it may, fearlessly, be proclaimed to be the most interesting little structure in the kingdom. It is the last of that highly ornamented class of Bridge Chantries of which we have any account; and it seems to have surpassed, in beauty, most, if not all, the sisterhood which were flourishing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is, perhaps, on this account that (although we know very little) we know more about this particular Bridge Chapel than about any other which formerly existed in the nation. Our old chroniclers have, indeed, been wonderfully parsimonious in their notices of these structures.—So much so, indeed, that had it not been for Leland's Mission, by Henry Eighth, to search the kingdom for Ancient Writings, we should scarcely have known the situations of one half the number of those which he has recorded.

Leland was born in 1507, and when grown up, was appointed librarian to Henry 8th. In 1542 he returned from his antiquarian tour. He published it in 1549 or 1550, and in 1552 he died. He appears to have been an observant and diligent man, but possessed of very little antiquarian knowledge or curiosity. This, indeed, is acknowledged by his great eulogist (Dr. Whitaker);* and it is manifest, not only from

* Dr. Whitaker, in his "Richmondshire," p. 86, makes this comment upon Leland:—"With respect to his account of the Old Church, now Trinity Chapel,

his "hear say" report of Wakefield Bridge Chapel, his ignorance of the time of endowment of the Vicarage, and the number of vicars, but from his misinformation on all these subjects. However, as he is our best chronicler as to Bridge Chantries, we shall take a few extracts from his "Itinerary." "These things," says he, "I especially noted in Wakefield,—
 "the faire bridge of nine arches, under which renneth the
 "river Calder; and on the est side of this bridge is a right
 "goodly Chapel of our Lady, and two Cantuarie Priests
 "founded in it: of the fundacion of *the townsmen*, as some
 "say; but the Dukes of York were taken as founders, for ob-
 "taining the mortmain. I heard one say, that a servant of
 "King Edward the 4th's father, or else of the Erle of Rut-
 "land, brother to King Edward the 4th, was a great doer of
 "it. There was a sore batell fought in the South Feilds, by
 "the bridge; and in the flite of the Duke of York's parte,
 "other the Duke himself, or his sun, th'erle of Rutland, was
 "slain a little above the barres, beyond the bridge, going up
 "a clyving ground. *At this place is set up a cross in memo-*
*riam.** The commune saying is, that the erle wold have
 "taken ther a poore woman's house for socour, and she, for
 "fere shet the dore, and strait the erle was killed."

I cannot help thinking that, for anything which appears in this statement, the Chapel was as likely to have been of the foundation of the *townsmen* as not. The whole of it is, at best, but "hear say" and "tittle tattle," related by a person who, evidently, had made no research, but took what was told him "UPON TRUST." That Rauf Stanley, or some such servant of Edward's father, had his share in the building or

"that it had many strange figures, which led the people to suppose it had been a
 "Temple of Idols, it is no disrespect to so great a man to say, that little more of
 "architecture was then understood by professed antiquaries than by *common*
 "*gazers.*"

* See my comments hereafter, p. 16.

beautifying of this Chapel, is possible, for he may have been one of these "TOWNSMEN;" but that Edward, or his predecessors the Dukes of York, were the founders is, I think, disputable, on several grounds.

This Chapel is said to have been built to pray therein for the souls of those who fell at the BATTLE OF SANDAL CASTLE FIELD, commonly called the "Battle of Wakefield," though at some distance therefrom. Now it is manifest, as I shall hereafter shew, that it was fought much nearer to the former than the latter place, and, certainly, on the *south*-side of the river; but Wakefield being the largest town in the vicinity, and the battle being thence (according to the custom of the times) called the Battle of Wakefield, a delusion has been fostered during the long period of three centuries. That such has been the case, however, I infer from the following circumstances:—

In the first place, it seems rational to suppose, that if Edward the 4th did build a Chapel for the purpose before-mentioned, he would erect it on some part of the field of battle; and that such was the usage of his times, as of preceding ages, I will give my readers the most convincing evidence. After the battle of Towton, it is well known that Richard 3rd built or began a Chapel for the souls of the Yorkists who there fell. And where did he build it? Over the Wharf? or over the Ouse? or upon "Cokbeck?" No! but upon the very ground which covered the bodies, or that part of the field of battle which is the furthest from Saxton.

Another instance may be found in Leland's Collectanea. Giving an account of a fray which happened upon Ouse bridge, between the citizens of York and John Comyn, a Scotch nobleman, in which several of his servants were killed, Leland says, "The citizens were obliged to pay to the said Lord three hundred pounds, and to build a Chapel ON THE
" PLACE WHERE THE SLAUGHTER WAS MADE."

Another instance may be seen in Speed's History, p. 695. "After the battle of Barnet," says he, "a Chapel was built *"upon the FIELD* where the slain were buried."*

The custom of erecting Churches or Chapels on fields of battle, in England, appears to be as ancient as the Saxon and Danish times. Malmesbury, writing† on the battle fought between Edmund Ironside and Canute, says of the latter,—*"Loca omnia in quibus pugnaverant, et præcipue in Ashendane Ecclesiis insignivit. Ministros instituit, qui per succidia sæculorum volumina Deo supplicarent pro aminibus 181 "occisorum."*

This custom, in short, like most of the early Roman Catholic usages, appears to have been derived from paganism; for a Chapel was dedicated, by the Athenians, to Socrates after his death.‡

But secondly, if Edward, contrary to custom, determined to build his Chapel remote from the bodies of the slain and upon a bridge, at all events it is evident that we should find it at the *south*-end of the bridge, and nearest the field of battle; but what is the fact? Why, that this Chapel is *much nearer to the opposite end!*

But, waiving my other objections and arguments for the present, in order to present them in a better place, I will now turn to Dr. Whitaker's remarks upon Leland's Narrative.

"With respect to the beautiful Chapel on the bridge," says he; "beautiful even after the botchwork by which it has been attempted to be repaired; so early and authoritative a testimony as that of Archbishop Holgate, must go far

* See, also, Stow's Annals, p. 704. Gents. Mag. vol. 62, p. 881;—vol. 92, part 2, p. 305;—and the Gents. Mag. for 1830, p. 622.

† De gestis Reg. lib. ii. cxi. Morant, commenting on this passage, says, "It could not be the present Church of Ashdon, BECAUSE IT STANDS TOO FAR FROM THE FIELD OF BATTLE!"—This is just my argument.—N. S.

‡ Goldsmith's Abrr. p. 144.

“towards establishing the fact, that it was founded by Edward Duke of York, afterwards Edward 4th. I am willing, also, to be persuaded that this endowment took place in order, as is generally supposed, to pray for the souls of the slain in the Battle of Wakefield; and especially of poor little Rutland. The architecture of the rich façade, at least is, unquestionably, of that age; but it is equally certain, that there was a Chantry on this bridge *of a much earlier date*; for by charter dated at Wakefield, A.D. 1557 (31 Edwd. 3rd), and copied by Mr. Hopkinson into his Collections, it appears that the said king vested a rent charge of ten pounds per annum on Wm. Kaye and Wm. Bull, chaplains, and their successors for ever, to perform divine service in the Chapel of ST. MARY, *then newly erected* on Wakefield bridge.

“By a later account which I have seen, the later Chantry of two Priests, said to be endowed by Edward Duke of York, was valued at £14. 15s. 3½d. I am unable to reconcile the difference between this sum and £8. 10s. 3d.; but the vicinity of the bridge to the ground where the former Duke of York and little Rutland fell; and especially the title assumed by the founder, which, in the following year, was merged in the style of King, renders it, in the highest degree, probable that this Chapel was re-endowed by that Prince *immediately after the battle*, and for a purpose which his feelings would then dictate. *I wish the perishing sculptures on the front could be discovered, to throw ANY LIGHT upon the subject.*”

That the reader may understand, in some measure, these remarks of Dr. Whitaker, I must state that, in his preceding page, he gives us the report of Archbishop Holgate, concerning the Chantries in Wakefield and its parish, which seem to have been nine in number, and one of them the Chantry of two Priests in THE MIDDLE of Wakefield bridge, “founded,” says Holgate, “by Edward Duke of York, and valued at £8. 10s. 3d.”

With respect to the "*early and authoritative* testimony of Holgate," I have to remark, that being translated to the See of York so late as 1544 (*i. e.* only about three years before the death of Henry 8th), it could not be *much earlier* than that of his contemporary, Leland, and it, probably, *was later*. Besides which, if we peruse the account of him by Drake, the Historian of York, who knew much more of his character and habits than Whitaker, we shall believe him to be *no authority at all*. We do not know that he had any taste for antiquarian subjects; but we *do* know what he *had* a taste for, and it would make the reader laugh were I to tell him. In short, as his lazy "*ipse dixit*" comes to us through a channel even more suspicious than that of Leland, we may well imagine that he came by his news in a similar way.

If I understand the Doctor's meaning in the foregoing extract, his opinion (grounded on the report of Holgate) was, that Edward 4th, while Duke of York, and immediately after the Battle of Wakefield, founded and endowed the Bridge Chapel, on account of those Yorkists who fell at that fight, and especially of poor little Rutland; but then he tells us, in conclusion, that he *re-endowed it immediately after the battle*; from which one may think his opinion was, that Edward founded and endowed the Chapel before the battle, and re-endowed it afterwards. But, if so, it could not have been built for the purpose so often asserted. And as to saying that Edward built and endowed, and then re-endowed it immediately after the fight, what does it sound like?

Notwithstanding, however, the Doctor's reverence for Archbishop Holgate, he seems to have been startled and confounded by two awkward circumstances. One of them, *the undoubted existence of a Chantry upon this bridge so early as 1357* (31st Edward 3rd); the other, *the discrepancy between the sum of £8. 10s. 3d. and £14. 15s. 3½d.*: difficulties which (by the way) as far as the main question is concerned, his

gratuitous supposition of *endowment* and *re-endowment*, does not rectify. Finding himself, therefore, in a labyrinth, and in the dark, he calls for light. "I wish," says he, "the perishing sculptures on the front could be discovered, to throw *any light* upon the subject."

It would appear, from this last expression, that Dr. Whitaker would have recanted, provided he could have been well assured that these figures had no reference to the Battle of Wakefield. Now, young as I was when the Doctor wrote, I could have convinced him, perhaps, of this. In no one compartment has there been, in our day, a similitude of any thing appertaining to a fight. On the contrary, by universal consent, as I believe, the sculptures have ever been designated as Scripture pieces.* One writer supposes they represent the Nativity, Resurrection, and Ascension. My own idea is, that the lower part of twelve figures, apparently in a sitting posture, have represented the twelve Apostles, in the third compartment as the visiter leaves Wakefield. On the next, there are two figures, perhaps for David and Solomon, as they seem like kings. On the other side, is a female in a reclining posture, with part of another figure, seemingly of a female, representing, as I fancy, St. Ann, teaching the Virgin Mary to read, as seen in the north window of the choir at Almondbury.† As to the other two tablets, the one next Wakefield has long been removed, and the other I cannot guess at. Since, however, we know that the twelve Apostles were on the front of the Chantry Bridge Chapel at Doncaster, we may well infer the nature of the sculptures at Wakefield.

It is no less amusing than astonishing, to observe the pertinacity with which, in spite of all contrary evidence, Dr.

* I particularly solicit the attention of the Architect and Antiquary to a Paper in the Gents. Mag. for 1833, vol. 103, part 1st, page 600.—N. S.

† See Whitaker's Leeds, vol. 2, p. 328. "These figures, being in an apparent state of nudity, may have represented the Temptation by Eve."

Whitaker still clung to his absurd notion as regarded the age of this Chapel. Writing upon the Lacy Fee, in the parish of Mitton in Craven, the Doctor says, "Yet there was a William de Bayley possessed of property within the parish so late as 1391; for in that year he bequeaths, besides many other legacies to religious houses, 'Unum equum vel equam, quem vel quam, Vicar de Mitton, vult eligere.' One item in the will is entitled to notice, as it contradicts a RECEIVED OPINION, that the Chapel on the bridge at Wakefield was first built and endowed as a *memorial of the battle in which Richard Duke of York was slain*. 'Item lego C Sol ad confirmacionem cantarie in Capella Sce Mariæ sup Pont de Wakefield.' However, there seems to be NO DOUBT that the present Chapel was built upon that occasion !!!"

I now flatter myself that I, on the other hand, shall be able to shew, most satisfactorily, that there is "no doubt" that it was NOT *built "upon that occasion."*

First,—From written or printed documents.

Secondly,—By inferences drawn from the usage of ancient times.

Thirdly,—From its architecture.

And fourthly,—From notices of Bridge Chapels left us by Leland or others.

Scarcely had I half written my former Essay, than I discovered, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1806, p. 723, a letter addressed to the then Editor, by a Gentleman of Wakefield, whom I know to be still living, and worthy of all credit and respect. It is upon this Bridge Chapel, and is well worth the perusal of Architects; but to *me* it was most interesting for the Note which "Archæus," the writer, has subjoined.

"Though this Chapel," says Archæus, "is usually called 'King Edward the 4th's Chapel, I am inclined to believe, that both it and the ancient part of the present bridge, which an Architect says was built by Edward the 4th,

“existed previous to his reign; for I have in my possession
 “a deed dated the 27th of September, 32nd of Henry 6th,
 “charging an estate in Wakefield with the payment of 3s.
 “in the following words: ‘Reddendo inde annuatim Cantariæ
 “sive Capellæ beatæ Mariæ scituet sup Pontem Villæ de
 “Wakefield, tres solidos argenti ad tres terminos scilicet ad
 “festum sancti Michaelis, purificationis beatæ Mariæ et Pen-
 “tecostes per equales portiones.’ I should be glad to know
 “how much higher its antiquity can be traced.”

In reply to this query, besides the very curious document copied by Dr. Whitaker from Hopkinson’s Collections, I will present the public with a copy of an ancient MS. from another document in the archives of the Hatfield family.

“In 1398, there were two chantries *ordained* in the Chapel
 “on Wakefield bridge, which were *founded* by William, son
 “of John Terry del Wakefield, and Robert del Heth (Heath),
 “who obtained licenses of the King (Richard 2nd), to give
 “and assign to two Chaplains celebrating divine service in
 “the Chapel of St. Mary, on Wakefield bridge, lately built,
 “ten pounds rent in Wakefield, Stanley, Ossett, Pontefract,
 “Horbury, Heckmondwike, Shafton, Darfield, Preston-Jack-
 “ling, and Frystone by the Water.”

“As, also, by license of the said King Richard 2nd,
 “granted to Edward Earl of Rutland, Sir George Gerbery,
 “Knight, and Thomas Worston, Clerk, &c. to give and assign
 “to the said two Chaplains ten pounds rent, which they pur-
 “chased of Robert Bull and William Horning, and Alice his
 “wife; which said Chaplains shall be at the presentation of
 “the said Earl of Rutland, and his heirs, within forty days
 “from the vacation of any of the said Chantries.”

Trusting that the reader will bear in mind the foregoing curious documents, as displaying the great antiquity of our Bridge Chapel, I come, now, to the most interesting portions of my tract, and for which I take to myself some little credit.

Whether or not they harmonize with what I have advanced, must be left to his decision.

It appears, then, from history, that in 1347 the last of the Earls Warren died—their titles became extinct, and after the death of Mathelda, the Earl's widow, their vast possessions, including the Manor of Wakefield, *reverted to the Crown*: and Edward the 3rd, in the THIRTY-SIXTH year of his reign, created his son, Edmund Langley, Earl of Cambridge; giving him (inter alia) *the Manor of Wakefield*. Edmund Langley was, afterwards, created *Duke of York*, by his nephew Richard 2nd, and left behind him a son, Edmund, also *Duke of York*, who fell at the battle of Agincourt. Richard, the second son of Edmund, was the father of the Richard, *Duke of York*, who was slain at the battle of Wakefield, and *he* was the father of Edward the 4th.

Thus we see how the Dukes of York were “taken as the founders of this Chapel for obtaining the mortmain,” as Leland says; but we cannot discover, that they built either the Chapel or the ancient Bridge. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe, from the usages of the times, the popularity, splendour, and calm of Edward's reign, as well as from the deeds and other MSS. alluded to, that both the one and the other were “*of the fundacion of the townsmen*,” as reported to Leland, in honour and compliment to their illustrious King, and for the advancement of commerce.

That Edward 3rd, in the course of his reign, visited Wakefield, is nearly certain; and that his visit had some connection with the ancient Stone Bridge and Chapel, is not less so.

Rapin informs us* that, in 1362, Edward 3rd took a progress into *several* countries, attended by *the principal nobility* and French hostages, who partook of all the recreations with which *the people strove to amuse their Sovereign*.

* Vol. 1. p. 437.

Now that remarkable year, the THIRTY-SIXTH of Edward's reign, and which corresponds so happily with the year 1362, when he took his progress, is memorable for another circumstance which occasioned this journey. It was the year in which he completed the fiftieth of his age! It was celebrated, therefore, as a year of Jubilee, of grace and favour, as well as of rejoicing. The tributary Kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, hastened to England to do him homage, and appeared in the splendour of his retinue,—witnesses of his clemency,—his redress of grievances,—his respect for the laws,—his regard for trade,—and his consideration for the poor.

Who then can doubt, that the people of Wakefield were of the number of those whom Rapin speaks of as "*striving to amuse their Sovereign*" at this year of Jubilee?—that Edmund Langley, Duke of York, and Lord of the Manor of Wakefield, was here presented by his father?—that the same pomp and display of tapestry crowned the bridge as was always seen upon royal visits?—and that *then* our Lady Chapel first shone forth in all her beauty?

Amongst other objects had in view in the erection of Chantry Chapels, during the middle ages, one was "to pray for the prosperity and happiness of the Sovereign, WHILE LIVING, as well as for his repose when dead." Of this we have an instance in the breaking up of the Hermitage at Whalley, by Henry 6th, who converted it into a Chantry for two Priests, "to sing for his good estate *in this world*."* In such Chantries of two Priests, it was, also, usual for each to say a different mass, one of which was always of requiem.

But there are various minor evidences beyond what has been adduced, and which all tend to shew that to the reign of Edward the 3rd *alone*, is the honour of our Bridge Chapel to be ascribed.

* See Whitaker's Whalley, Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 57, pt. 2, p. 664.

From Dr. Whitaker's History of Whalley, I take the following extract:—

"In 1480, Roger Nowell formed a Chantry at the altar of St. Peter, in the church of All Saints, Wakefield. To this there was a license in mortmain, granted by Edward 4th, enjoining the Chantry Priest to pray *pro salubri statu suo et pro aia in Christo Patris et Dni nostri Ricardi nuper Ducis Ebor et omn fid def.* It was usual, says the Doctor, in mortmains, for the grantor to stipulate for a portion of spiritual benefits on behalf of himself and friends; but there can be no doubt, in this instance, that the pointed and affectionate mention of Richard, Duke of York, was suggested by a recollection of Wakefield, where he lost his life twenty years before, and where a beautiful Chapel was erected for
"THE SAME PURPOSE."

Without much more knowledge of Catholic ideas and usages during the dark ages than we now possess, one can scarcely form a decided opinion upon Edward's conduct on this occasion; but, certainly, it appears, from this extract, that no Chantry had been established by him *at Wakefield*, for the purpose specified, rather than there had. For if the Bridge Chapel, with two Priests, had been founded by him for the soul's welfare of his father and friends, he could want no Chantry or Priests at the Church of the parish for this purpose. The utmost, therefore, that this Edward could have done, was to endow or enrich the Chapel, and erect a Cross of Memorial upon the field of battle.

Crosses of Memorial, though sometimes erected upon public accounts,* were yet often raised for private individuals. Of these, Guthloe's Stone near Croyland, Neville's Cross,

* "There is a fame," says Leland, "that Oswald wan the battle of Halydene, and that Halydene is that Bede callith Hevenfeld, and men thereabout yet finde smaule Crossis of Wod in the grounde."—*Note to Itinerary vol. 7, p. 58.*

Piercey's Cross, and Lord Audley's Cross, are instances. They were raised for persons of chief rank who fell in battle, or they were raised on account of those battles; and generally, if not always, where these small Crosses were set up, there were no Chapels for the slain; unless Barnet-field be an exception. The "Cross of Memorial," therefore, which was raised for Rutland or his father, is evidence not only as to the ground on which the fight was; but, also, that the Bridge Chapel was no way connected with that battle.

This paragraph naturally leads me to a subject which is connected with my argument, and may be more generally interesting. I mean

THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD!

Our old historian, Speed, who has taken his narrative from Grafton's Chronicle and Stowe's Annals, gives us an account of the "Battle of Wakefield;" from which it is manifest that it must have been fought about midway between the Castle of Sandal and the River, but at a considerable distance from the *then* town of Wakefield.

"The Castle of Sandal," says he, "standeth pleasantly upon a small hill, in view of the faire town of Wakefield. There, the Duke of York, coming thither upon *Christmas-eve*, reposeseth himself, and expecteth the increase of his numbers. The Queen, advertised, thinks it wisdom to fight before the Duke grows too strong; and, therefore, marcheth forward, having an army of eighteen thousand men, led by the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter,—the Earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire,—the Lords Neville, Clifford, Rosse, and, in effect, all the northern nobility. The host, or *so much thereof as they thought necessary to shew*, presents itself before Sandal, to provoke and dare the Duke to battle. His blood, impatient of these braves, and ignorant, perhaps, that the enemy had so great a multitude, will needs fight, though the Earl

"of Salisbury and Sir David Hall, an ancient servant of his
 "and a great soldier, advise him to stay till his son, the Earl
 "of March, approached with such Welchmen and Marchers,
 "as he had assembled in great numbers.

"The Queen, therefore, addeth stratagem and wit to her
 "force, to the intent he might not escape her hands; where-
 "upon, the Earl of Wiltshire *upon one side of the hill*, and
 "the Lord Clifford *upon the other*, lie in ambush to thrust
 "*between him and the castle*; the Dukes of Somerset and
 "Exeter stand embattled *in the open field*. Their policy had
 "the wished success; for the Duke, not being fully five thou-
 "sand strong, issueth out of the castle *down the hill*. The
 "battels which stood in front join furiously, when, sodainly,
 "the Duke of York sees himself inclosed; and although he
 "expressed great manhood, yet, within one half hour, his
 "whole army was discomfited,—himself and divers of his dear
 "friends beaten down and slain."

From the preceding narrative, it is clearly manifest that Sandal Castle, in that age, lay in a region of surrounding wood, except on the side towards Wakefield. Here, certainly, was the "open plain" where Somerset and Exeter deceived the Duke by a display of a small portion *only* of the Queen's army; while Clifford and Wiltshire, notwithstanding it was the *last day of the year*, and the trees were leafless, lay concealed on the sides of the hill; and, during the Duke's conflict with the former, got between his army and the fortress. The shortness of the fight, and the spot* where the Duke fell,

* "The spot where the Duke of York was killed upon the green," says Hutton, "is about *four hundred yards* from the Castle, close to the old road from "Barnsley to Wakefield, now called, from the sign of a public-house, '*Cock and Bottle Lane*.' The spot where Rutland fell he thinks to be what is called '*THE FALLINGS*,' which is on the left of the Bridge, going to Heath."—See "*Trip to Coatham*," p. 21, 22.

If this was the case, Rutland was very probably flying, to get within the bounds of *Sanctuary*—viz. at the CHAPEL!—N. S.

most clearly shew us the scene of action, which Leland says was "a little above the barres, going up a clyving ground," and where "a Cross was set up in memoriam."

This spot, on the right of the lane or old road leading from Wakefield to the Three-Houses at Sandal, and which was once the London road, is a triangular piece of ground, with a fence about it, which the tenant of the field is bound, by his lease, to maintain. When I saw it, many years ago, some very old trees were growing in the fence, and vestiges of others still older, were perceptible. According to tradition, the Cross was destroyed during the Civil War of the seventeenth century; but as such Crosses were generally of wood, and very small, it doubtless perished in the century preceding.

In a former page, I stated that Wakefield being the largest town in the vicinity of the field of battle, it was thence called the "Battle of Wakefield;" and that such was the usage in the 16th, if not in the 17th century, I will now adduce a proof. "The Battle of Bosworth Field," says Burton, the old historian of Leicester, "was fought in a large flat plain, *three miles* from Bosworth village; but for that this *was the most worthy town of note*, it was called 'The Battle of Bosworth Field.'"

But to return again to the evidences before alluded to, as tending to shew that this is a Chapel of the GREAT EDWARD THIRD, I must again refer to Leland.—"Wakefield," says he, "stondeth now al by clothyng." And again he says, "At the hole profite of the towne stondeth by course draperie."

Turn now to the acts of Edward 3rd, especially 9th Edward 3rd, c. 1;—11th Edward 3rd, c. 2;—25th Edward 3rd, c. 4;—and 27th Edward 3rd, c. 4;—and you shall find, my readers, how this Edward promoted Trade and Commerce,—especially the *woollen* manufactures,—by giving protection

and encouragement to foreign Merchants and Weavers;*—by prohibiting every one from wearing cloth *not* of English fabric;—by opening a *free trade* with other countries;—by improving the navigation of rivers;—by fixing the staple goods of England (*wool, woolfels, leather, tin, and lead*) in our principal cities, which had before been kept in Flanders;—in short, by various other acts, all tending to the welfare of the community; but of the lower orders in particular. Under such circumstances, is it not natural to suppose that the clothing towns, like Wakefield, would rejoice? would build a better Bridge, and a Chapel of Stone, for strengthening the same? and, on the year of his *jubilee* perhaps, or sooner, would dedicate the latter to the King? And what probability is there that they would do it in such a reign as that of the 4th Edward—a reign of turbulence and civil war, of faction, and of blood?

On the Architecture of the Bridge Chapel I may venture to write, having all the authorities which I have hitherto consulted, on my side; and well-knowing two Gentlemen of great eminence in the profession, one of them remarkable for his drawings and taste, and both of them for science. The middle of the 14th century is the period, generally, upon which we agree; and whoever will consult the 14th vol. of the *Archæologia*, page 108, and then view the earliest and best engravings of this Chapel, will be convinced. Fosbroke says, “The oak leaf, quatrefoil, roses, and crockets, were exceedingly “common temp. Edward 3rd. THIS REIGN FORMS A STYLE. “The arch is sharp without curve: often moulded with oak “leaves. Rows of small ornamented arches. Niches and “tabernacles, with statues. Pinnacles not very lofty, but

* “In 1336, Edward 3rd introduced the Dutch, who were masters in the “manufacture of *curious drapery*. Prior to this, our countrymen knew no more “what to do with *wool* than the sheep that wear it; their best clothes being no “better than *freezes*.”—Fuller, *b. 4, p. 3.*

"adorned with leaves, crockets, foliated orbs, &c. This reign is deemed, by men of the greatest taste and skill, the best æra of this kind of architecture."

Now these are, *exactly*, the ornaments on a stone which fell from a corner pinnacle of the Chapel about sixteen years ago, which was rescued, at that time, from destruction, and has been in my safe custody ever since, and which I have sent to my excellent friend the Vicar of Wakefield. But this rich canopy or finial stone, has more upon it than even this. For, at the terminus of the weather-mould of the canopy, there have been "leopards couchant;" and on two sides there is, what I take to be, the Prince of Wales's Feather; the fourth side has abutted on the building. This, surely, is enough, except I add, that I hope nobody will judge the Chapel by the "*modern* botchwork by which it has been *attempted* to be repaired," but will view the windows, &c. of Prior Crawden's Chapel,* in the Isle of Ely.

Respecting the peculiar sculptures on the stone which I have sent to the Vicar, such as the "leopards" and "fleur-de-lis," I will give the reader two very valuable Notes.

"At Dartmouth Church," says Fosbroke, "is a very curious door of the date of Edward 3rd. It has TWO LEOPARDS and A TREE behind, of wrought iron on the wood-work."

"Our 3rd Edward appears to have assumed the title of King of France about 1337, and he took the 'fleur-de-lis' for a quartering to his arms, either *on* or *before* that year."†

If any doubt, as to the age of the Chapel, could exist, the appearance of the "leopards couchant," would remove it. The leopards, it is true, are not recognized in any of the cognizances or badges of our kings; but a knowledge of Numis-

* I must refer to the Appendix of my former Essay.

† "It was an old opinion, pretended to have originated in a prophesy of Merlin, 'that the LILIES and LEOPARDS should be united *in the same field*.' The Ambassadors sent by Edward the 3rd, in 1329, to claim the regency of France, opened their harangue with this declaration." —*Mezerey Hist. de France*, vol. 1, p. 28, &c.

matics enables me to say they belong to Edward 3rd, who had them on the obverse of his florins, struck about 1342.

The decorated English style, according both to Rickman's Table and the Camden Society, terminated before 1377, that is, even before the reign of Richard 2nd; so that we have four reigns, or eighty-three years, before we come to that of Edward the 4th; and from that period to the time when Leland saw the Chapel on Wakefield Bridge (1542), we have eighty-one years more, making together one hundred and sixty-four years. To this, if we add, from the probable period of its erection, 1357 to 1377 (namely about twenty years), we get one hundred and eighty-four years, which will well account for Leland's "HEAR SAY!"

I now hope that the reader will think I have illustrated the architectural part of my subject very tolerably.

Before I conclude my main argument, I wish to state, that though there are *three* separate periods which may be called the *grand eras* of Church building, viz: the 12th, the 16th, and the 19th centuries,—there is but *one* for Chantries, viz: the 14th and part of the 15th century. This may appear even from Leland's Itinerary, a few extracts from which, will be very appropriate on other accounts.

"Towards the north end of Causham Bridge," says he, "stondith a faire old Chapelle of stone, on the right hond,—
"piled in the fundacion for the rage of the streame of
"Tamise."—Vol. 1, p. 5.

"Of Otery water," he says, "the first arme of the four
"was the leste, and had *no* Bridge that I remarkid. On the
"north side of the first Bridge was a Chapelle, *now pro-*
"*phanid.*"—Vol. 3, p. 6.

Devon.—"Budeford (*i. e.* Biddeford) Bridge first began
"by a revellation of a poore Priest. The Bridge hath thirteen
"arches, and a Chapelle of our Lady at the further end."—
Ibid, p. 131.

"A praty Chappel of St. Catherine, upon Teme Bridge, "near Ludlow."—Vol. 4, p. 93.

Shropshire.—"There be on the Bridge of Bridgenorth, "standing est in respect of the towne, eight great arches, and "a Chappel of St. Sythe* upon it."—Ibid, p. 99.

Writing of the Bridge which divides Manchester from Salford, Leland says, "On it is a praty little Chapelle."—Vol. 5, p. 88.

Yorkshire.—"I enterid Rotherham by a faire stone Bridge "of four arches, and on hit is a Chapel of stone, well "wrought."—Ibid, p. 98.

Writing on Richmondshire and the River Skell, he says, "There is a faire Chappel of *freestone* on the farther ripe of "the We (Ure), at the very end of Hewick-Bridge, made by "an Herrmite that was A MASON."

So far Leland, who also mentions other Bridges with Chapels. As Avonbridge, Bristol, Thropshire-Bridge, Bedford, Exeter, Catterick, &c.

"Catterick-Bridge," says Clarkson, "was rebuilt in 1421, "at an expense of two hundred and sixty marks, and a few "gowns for the workmen during the building. At the south- "end of it, on the east-side, was a small Chapel, dedicated to "St. Ann, where Mass was said every day by a Priest from "the Hospital of St. Giles, at twelve o'clock, for the use of "Travellers† praying for a prosperous journey; and where "alms were received from the passengers, for repairs of the "bridge. On widening it about thirty years ago, by spring- "ing arches in every direction, for new foundations adjoining "to the east-side of the old piers, the Chapel was taken down. "Yet there are still in existence some remains of it: now de-

* Here was a Shrine to which women came on pilgrimage to recover their "lost keys."

† These were, undoubtedly, Peregrini (PILGRIMS.) See my remarks hereafter.

“graded to a ‘coal-hole’ belonging to the only house in the place, an Inn, and was used as such in the time of Henry the 8th, when Leland travelled this way. ‘Katerick-bridge selfe,’ says he, ‘hath but one house, and that an Yn.’”—Clarkson’s History of Richmond, p. 390.

“The first decisive notice of a Bridge and Chapel attached to it here (at Leeds),” says Dr. Whitaker, “in which, according to the devotion of the times, early Mass was said in it for the benefit of Travellers, bears date 1376;* one William de Derby being mentioned, in a deed of that date, as chaplain. From the dissolution, the Chapel which stood on the right hand entering Briggate, was applied to the use of a school; for which purpose it continued to be used down to the year 1728, when it was converted into a warehouse. In the year 1730, the Bridge was widened for double carriages, and a second time in 1760, when the remains of the Chapel being taken down, the foundation-stones *appeared so incorporated with those of the Bridge itself, that both MUST have been built at the same time.*”—Whitaker’s Leeds, vol. 2, page 89.

“On or adjoining the Bridge over the Ouse, which connects the north and the south part of the town of Bedford, there was, formerly, a free Chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr. It was built by the *townsmen*, in the early part of the 14th century, and endowed. Most of the records pat. 43rd Edward 3rd, describe the Chapel as *ON THE BRIDGE.*”—Lysons p. 49.

In the Will of Lord Hastings, dated 1481, is this passage:—“Item, *I woll* that mine Executors do make and edify the Chapel of our Lady, called the *Chapel on the Bridge* of Leicestre, and for the making thereof, Cbi.”†—Nichols’s Leicest. v. 3, pt. 2, p. 570.

* The last year but one of Edward’s reign, and the 65th of his age.

† At least £1000 of our money now.

One more extract and I will have done:—"It appears, "from some ancient poetry written by one Farmand an iron-monger at Abingdon in Berkshire, in 1457, and put on a "tablet in the Hall of St. Helen's Hospital there, in memory "of one Geoffry Barbour, a merchant, who founded Culham "Bridge, that it was *usual*, on such occasions, to lay the first "stone *in the King's name, and that thence arose the custom, "in after times, of saying they were BUILT by such and such "Kings.* For at the beginning, in some Latin verses, Henry "the 5th is mentioned as '*the founder*' of both Bridges, of "Burford and Culham; whereas, Geoffry Barbour was, in "fact, the *founder* and *builder* of the latter, and John of St. "Helens, of the former."

Upon the whole, it is quite evident that all these and other Bridge Chantries, were built LONG BEFORE* the reign of Edward the 4th.

* See extracts from the Patent Rolls, published by the Record Commission. Vol. 1, p. 558.

BUT WHY A CHAPEL UPON A BRIDGE?

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This question I have answered so much at length in my former Essay, that through fear of passing the limits of a small Tract, I must be brief.

1st. They were built as *supports* or *stays* for strengthening the Bridges, and, of course, for the advancement of trade.

2nd. They were built as a *residence* for one or more Priests, to solicit an *alms* from all passengers on foot or horseback over the Bridge, for keeping it in repair; of which Crypts I will write presently.

3rd. They were built for *religious* or *charitable* purposes. Bridge and Chapel building being, in the middle ages, regarded as an act of the greatest piety.

4th. They were built for the *guidance* and *direction*, and probably for the *security* and *refreshment*, of benighted Travelers or Navigators; and for this purpose, had Cresset-Lights or Beacons upon their "low round Keeps"\* or Towers.

5th. I shall make it evident, that the most splendid Chapels, like this at Wakefield, were *Shrines for pilgrimage*.

In my last Essay, I remember to have made the following observation:—

"Many gentlemen, who really are interested in the subject of our Antiquities, can VIEW *curiosities*, and READ *accounts of them*,—without asking themselves those questions,—without discovering those latent peculiarities,—without making, in a word, those happy and dexterous *hits* which

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\* "Temp. Edward 3rd, called round Tables."—*Fosbroke*, vol. 2, p. 923.

"may be regarded as the 'TACT' and the 'TEST' of a 'TRUE' 'Antiquary.'"—Of the truth of this, I will now give the reader a specimen.

Leland, writing of our Lady Chapel, says, "It was wont "to be visited '*a Peregrinis*.'"

Now this word "Peregrinis" has, seemingly, been most unaccountably *mistranslated* by all our professed Antiquaries and Historians, as far as I can discover. They have gone on blundering, one after another, and quite deceiving ordinary readers, by saying of this Chapel, that it was "wont to be visited *by Travellers*;" or was built "for the benefit of *Travellers*," to hear early Mass; and thus they have veiled a most important portion of its history. But I beg to inform the public, that "a Peregrinis" does NOT mean *by Travellers*; for if that had been Leland's meaning, he would have said "*a Viatoribus*;" and by such kind of travellers (comprising people of all classes) the Chapels were visited in the middle or dark ages; but Leland says of our Chapel, by way of distinction, and which marks its high reputation, that it was "wont to be visited *a Peregrinis*" (by PILGRIMS); and this throws such a *flood of light* upon our LADY, as makes her more interesting, more enchanting, than ever. Oh! that "Ven Hutton"\* was living to read this! what a crowd of recollections would rush upon his mind! How soon would he scamper off from Birmingham, on foot, though above seventy-eight years of age, to make a pilgrimage (but certainly NOT "*of penance*") to the Virgin!

Here again, my readers, you have another proof of the very high antiquity of this Chapel, as well as of its eminence. It was "wont to be visited by PILGRIMS!" Yes, by Pilgrims!

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\* I always call the "Historian of the Roman Wall," (the whole length of which he travelled on foot, at the age of seventy-eight), "*Ven Hutton*;" for he is as well entitled as ever Bede was, to this epithet.



and had not Leland told me this, I could have fancied as much, from an inspection of its interior, with which I was favoured the other day.

In the Norman and preceding times, pilgrimages seem to have been confined to Rome or other foreign parts; but in the early Plantagenet reigns, and when asceticism began to assume a milder character, the domestic Shrines, or those of England, grew up. For a long period, however, we read of but three or four, viz: the Shrine of our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk; of Boxley in Kent; of Hailes in Shropshire or Gloucestershire; and of Thomas a Becket, at Canterbury, in the twelfth century. After that period, they multiplied so fast throughout England, down to the end of the fourteenth century, that we read of thirty-eight having existed in Norfolk alone. In the reign, therefore, of Edward the 3rd, the number of Shrines in England must have been great, and the foreign pilgrimages rare. The object of the more recent pilgrimages seem, generally, to have been of a more worldly nature than what they were at first, although professedly for the "good of the soul." Solitary pilgrimages of sworn penance,\* and for devotion, no doubt, were common in *Edward's* reign; but soon after, the pilgrims frequently travelled in groups, as Chaucer describes, and their excursions seem rather to have been for the health of the body, or for amusement.

The dress of a Pilgrim is represented as consisting in a long, coarse, russet gown, with large sleeves, patched with crosses of another colour,—a bowl and bag suspended from a leathern belt round the loins or shoulders,—a round hat turned up in front, and stuck with escallop shells, or small images of saints,—a rosary of large beads hanging from the neck or arm,—a long walking staff, hooked like a crosier, and

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\* See Gents. Mag. for 1818, vol. 88, p. 140.

furnished with two hollow balls. In Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, I read that "they wore, next their skin, a little round "bag and divers pieces of *twopences* and *threepences*, bowed "over the string thereof, to be offered to saints, or those who "kept saints."

Now, I beg the reader to bear in mind these preliminaries, as they will be necessary to him previous to my introducing him to the INTERIOR of *St. Mary's Bridge Chapel*.

But first, a few words respecting the personages to whom I shall introduce him, and the objects which the Pilgrims, male and female, often had in view in travelling long distances to see them.

All pilgrimages to canonized Shrines, as I said before, were professedly of a devotional character; but they had often a near relation to some personal or secular interest of the devotee. This arose from that subdivision of the Romish as of the Classical Calendar, which assigned a tutelary deity to almost every situation or contingency of life, and of course filled the country with Shrines of a specific virtue. To give an instance.

The efficacy of the Virgin Mary was unlimited, and therefore, to her was the almost universal resort, except perhaps in minor cases, where a large offering might not be expected. St. Ann's efficacy consisted in enabling her devotees to recover their lost property!—St. Leonard's, in enabling debtors to escape from prison!—and St. Sythe's, for directing women where to find their lost keys! The reader will, perhaps, remember his Shrine at Bridgenorth, and be anxious to hear something about that of our Lady at Wakefield.

Enter then, Sir, this most interesting edifice, and be not surprised, after such *demolitions* and *defilement* as it has undergone for near *three* centuries, that I can shew you so little of its *ornaments*, so few of its *relics* or *appurtenances*. And, as

the Chapel was choked up with rubbish of a brick-wall, &c. excuse any little errors or omissions in which I may fail.

The first thing which probably will strike you, is the appearance of there having once been *five* entrances, although I am persuaded there were but *two*; and that the intervening spaces, if not for light, have merely been for ornament. But I speak with diffidence. That there have been two doors at the extremities is certain, from the iron for hinges still remaining in the wall.

Directly facing you, at *each* entrance, there has anciently been seen, under a fine enriched canopy, a figure of the Virgin, on the *right* of the altar, and of St. Ann (as I think) on the *left* of it. A crucifix, of course, has stood upon the altar between them. Long stalls or seats for wearied devotees to take their turns in succession, have probably so far extended across the Chapel as to form a sort of isle for fresh comers, who, according to the nature of their visits, have worshipped, and then "laid their gifts upon the altar." The women have, no doubt, entered by the one door, and the men by the other; and, having taken their appropriate seats on each side, have come forward, knelt upon the steps of the altar, worshipped before the *one* or the *other* image, and laid down their respective offerings, which have been swept away by the Priests, to make room for succeeding gifts. Such at least seems to have been the case when Erasmus visited our Lady of Walsingham. His account of that Shrine is the most curious and interesting imaginable, and the scene he portrays, the most singular. Only think of the sceptical Erasmus, the greatest man of his age, compelled to *kiss the most disgusting relics*, and receiving

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NOTE.—An aperture in the wall on the north side, I imagine to have been either the "*Sacrarium*," or "*Aumbrie*," to hold the "Eucharist" or "Consecrated Elements;" or else it was the place where the "Relics" were kept; but I fancy the former.

as the reward of his "ORTHODOXY!" a *nod* of approbation from the Virgin, when the Priest pulled the strings of the puppet!!!

Having made their offerings, however, the devotees would retire; but *not* by the ways they came in. No, no! that would never do, to turn their backs upon St. Mary or St. Ann! Oh, no! they withdrew, of course, by that little door which you see leading under the demolished tabernacle of the Virgin, down into the Crypt, and thence to the river. Here, I doubt not, was a ferry-boat, or the Wakefield people got off by land, and so the farce was ended!

### THE CRYPT.

Crypts and Charnel-houses are frequently confounded. Crypts are often found under Chancels and Chapels; but superfluous bones, dug up in Church-yards, having often been deposited therein, has led many to suppose they were intended as Charnel-houses.\*

Oswald, afterwards Archbishop of York, received from his Abbot, a secret place in the Church where he might indulge in private prayer. This secret place was a "CRYPT," called a *Confessional*; before the door of which, twelve poor men, all clerks, used to receive their daily alms; and the Crypt had an altar, where he celebrated Mass!†

This Crypt at Wakefield has, undoubtedly, been the dwelling of the Priests,—where they have lodged strangers or administered relief. A pretty little spiral staircase rises from it, winding round the northern turret to the low round Keep or Table, where the Cresset-Light has been kindled,—a lamp

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\* Fosbroke's Encyclopædia, vol. 1, p. 98;—Gents. Mag. for 1794, p. 617;—and Gents. Mag. for 1813, p. 214.

† British Monachism, p. 285.—Cust. Roff. 235.



or guide to the sojourner by night upon land, or across the ferry; or, perhaps, to the navigator upon the Calder. Mr. Britton speaks of the Cresset on Hadley Church Tower, still preserved. And for these purposes were most of the high turrets of our ancient Churches constructed,—the *spires* being the guides by day, and the *beacons* by night.

Having now, in the compass of six or seven short days, brought all my leading thoughts together which relate to my “OLD FAVOURITE” the “BRIDGE CHAPEL;” and having endeavoured to stimulate the people of Wakefield to appreciate, properly, the “JEWELL” they possess, I have done my duty. To use a beautiful simile of ancient times, “I HAVE KEPT THE BIRD IN MY BOSOM!”\* and now that the Chapel is no longer an old clothes’ shop,—a warehouse,—a den of flax-dressers,—a news-room,—a cheesecake-house,—or a tailor’s shop;—but lodged in safe and “TRUST-WORTHY” hands, to be appropriated to RELIGIOUS PURPOSES, I trust my Text will no longer be appropriate,—“We think upon her Stones, and it pitieth us to see her in the dust;” but that, with reference at least to the *Reformed National Religion*, I may substitute my former motto,—“Rede ! Judge ! and *thank God for a BETTER LYGT*!”†

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\* Sir Ralph Piercey’s dying words at the Battle of Hegeley-Moor.—Vide Speed’s History, p. 688.

† From MS. of a Monk, in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

## APPENDIX.

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Copy of a Letter to Lord Cromwell, from one of the Minions of Henry 8th. Cotton MS. in the British Museum, Cleopatra, Eiv. p. 238.

“ Right honorable, mine inespecial good Lord, according to my  
“ bounden duty and the honour of your Lordship’s letters, lately to  
“ me directed, I have sent unto your good Lordship by this berer,  
“ my brother Francis Bassett, *THE IMAGES* of St. Anne of Buxton,  
“ and St. Andrew of Burton-upon-Trent; which Images I did take  
“ from the places where they did stand, and brought them to my  
“ own house within forty-eight hours after the contemplation of your  
“ said Lordship’s letters, in as sober a manner as my little and rude  
“ wits would serve me. And for that there should be no more  
“ idolatry and superstition there used, I did not only *deface the*  
“ *Tabernacles*, and places where they did stand, but also did take  
“ away Crutches, Shirts, and Sheets, offered with wax, being things  
“ that did allure and entice the ignorant people to the same offerings;  
“ also, giving the keepers of both places admonition and charge, that  
“ no more offerings should be made in those places, till the King’s  
“ pleasure, and your Lordship’s, be further known in that behalf.

“ My Lord! I have, also, locked up and sealed the Baths and  
“ Wells at Buxton, that none shall enter to wash them until your  
“ Lordship’s pleasure be further known; whereof I beseech your  
“ good Lordship that I may be ascertained again at your good plea-  
“ sure, and I shall not fail to execute your commandment to the  
“ uttermost of my little wit and power.

“ And, my Lord, as touching the opinion of the people, and the  
“ fond trust they did put in *these Images*, and the vanity of the  
“ things, this berer, my brother, can tell your Lordship better at

“large than I can write; for he was with me at the doing of all, and  
 “in all good places, as knoweth good Jesus, whom ever have your  
 “good Lordship in his blessed keeping.

“Written at Langley with the rude and simple hand of your  
 “assured and faithful orator, and as one ever at your commandment,  
 “next to the King, to the uttermost of my little power.

“WM. BASSETT, KNIGHT.”

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NOTE.—This Letter I deem as most curious and interesting. It discovers to us by whose orders the Images, Shrines, Tabernacles and Enrichments of Wakefield Bridge Chapel were destroyed, or mutilated, or defaced! It displays, in the most vivid colours, the iron despotism, and the cringing, trembling sycophancy and servility of his agents. It reminds us of a similar (grateful) usage even of our times,—the leaving of Crutches at Watering Places.

I had the pleasure to arrive at Buxton last year on the day of the “*Well flowering*” (Midsummer-day), and to observe the beautiful and innocent recreation of the villagers; and it struck me, that the good humour, conviviality, and gaiety of the scene, was more likely to be generally beneficial, than some of the pastimes of the ascetics and fanatics of our own age.

I have been told, that attempts have been made to suppress the village sports, and am glad at their failure.

THE END.





# ENGLAND AND WALES IN COUNTIES AND DIOCESES.

*showing also Cities,  
with other names of places underlined.*

- A - Durham
- B - Carlisle
- C - Chester
- D - York
- E - Manchester
- F - Ripon
- G - St. Asaph
- H - Bangor
- I - Lichfield
- J - Lincoln
- K - Norwich
- L - Ely
- M - Peterborough
- N - Worcester
- O - Hereford
- P - St. David's
- Q - Landaff
- R - Gloucester & Bristol
- S - Oxford
- T - London
- U - Rochester
- V - Exeter
- W - Bath & Wells
- X - Salisbury
- Y - Winchester
- Z - Chichester
- AA - Canterbury



# ADDITIONAL CATHEDRALS.

A Letter,

WRITTEN AT THE REQUEST OF A MEMBER OF THE  
CATHEDRAL COMMISSION ON THE QUESTION  
OF WHAT EXISTING CHURCHES WOULD  
BE AVAILABLE AS CATHEDRALS IN  
CASE OF THE ERECTION OF  
ADDITIONAL SEES.

By GEO. GILBERT SCOTT,  
ARCHITECT.

LONDON:  
JOHN HENRY PARKER, 377 STRAND,  
AND OXFORD.

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1854.

HER Majesty having issued a Royal Commission on the subject of Cathedrals, with a view to the recommendation of such measures as might be requisite for the erection of *Additional Sees*, as well as for other purposes, and the opinion of the writer of the following letter having been asked by the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, as a Member of that Commission, as to what fabrics already in existence might be available for additional Cathedrals, it has been kindly suggested to him that it might be convenient that his reply to that inquiry should be printed. He mentions this as his apology for putting forward a communication only intended as a private one, and on a subject on which he has no special right to offer an opinion.



## ADDITIONAL CATHEDRALS.

### A Letter, &c.

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12 Avenue Road, Regent's Park,  
September 3, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE given a good deal of consideration to the subject to which you, a few days back, requested me to turn my attention, I mean the question as to what churches are to be found which, in case of an extension of the episcopate, could with propriety be made use of as additional cathedrals.

There are many such churches scattered through the country, some of them suited at once to become cathedrals with scarcely any change being made in them; others, possessing the whole structure suited to a cathedral, but needing re-arrangement and restoration; others, again, retaining noble portions of the original fabric, but having lost the nave, the choir, or other portions of it; while a fourth class consists of roofless ruins, whose massive walls have for three centuries resisted the elements without protection, and are even now capable of being restored, and of becoming once again some of the noblest temples of God.

The position, however, of many of these churches is unfortunate; some, particularly of the latter class, are far from any large towns; others are so near to existing cathedrals as to be hardly eligible for new sees; while many towns, suited in every way to become the centres of such sees, possess no church in any degree suited to the purpose. Other places, however, are more happily situated, and are at once well adapted to become the seats of new bishops, and possess churches worthy of being converted into their cathedrals.

I will, as briefly as I am able, enumerate the churches which strike me as worthy of consideration, taking, for convenience' sake, the counties one by one, beginning with the north.

#### 1. NORTHUMBERLAND.

I do not recollect any church in this county suited to become a cathedral excepting that of HEXHAM. This is a most noble church,



though imperfect; its nave having been destroyed, in an invasion by the Scots, at an early period. The existing portions are the choir, the transepts, the central tower, and the Lady Chapel. These, however, form a church of great dignity and magnificence, and possessing quite the air of a cathedral. The church is almost wholly in the early-pointed style, of which it is a truly noble example. The plan of the nave is still evident from the remains of its walls and the bases of the pillars. Should Northumberland be severed from the see of Durham, Hexham seems well suited to become the seat of its future bishop, and such a change would be peculiarly interesting from its having been the centre of a Saxon bishopric, and from its intimate connexion with our early ecclesiastical history. Its proximity to Newcastle would also be convenient.

## 2. CUMBERLAND.

I do not recollect any suitable church in this county, and the cathedral of Carlisle seems to render another unnecessary.

## 3. WESTMORELAND.

It would appear not inconvenient that this county should be formed into a diocese, together with the detached portion of Lancashire called Furness. In this case KENDAL would appear to be its most suitable centre. It contains a very large and interesting church, which, I am sorry to say, I have not seen. I believe, however, that it is a building of dignified aspect, not a cross church, but one of five aisles, or rather of a nave and two aisles on either side, with a considerable chancel and several chapels.

There is at Cartmell in Furness a very noble church, once a priory church in connexion with Furness Abbey. This is a cruciform church of dignified appearance and dimensions, and is perfect in its general mass, though requiring considerable restoration. Its choir retains its ancient stalls, screens, &c., and it has very much the aspect of a cathedral, and is very capable of being used as one.

## 4. DURHAM.

There are some noble churches in the towns in this county, and several most interesting monastic remains; but in case of the diocese being reduced by the formation of Northumberland into a new one, no further division would, perhaps, be contemplated.

## 5. YORKSHIRE.

*North Riding.*

There are in this, as in other divisions of the county of York, many magnificent remains of its ancient abbeys and other conventual churches, one or two of them capable of being in some degree restored. They are, however, for the most part situated in secluded country districts, so as hardly to come within the range of the present inquiry. Among those which are thus situated may be mentioned the exquisite choir and transepts of Rievaulx Abbey, which are readily capable of restoration, and are among the finest examples of the early-pointed style.

Very similar to this, and on, perhaps, a still more magnificent scale, is the abbey church at WHITBY. The choir is in great measure entire, as also is the south transept. These parts could be restored without difficulty, and other portions might also be recovered from ruin, though at a greater cost. These remains being situated in a large and rapidly-increasing town demand serious attention. They are as fine in their architecture as almost any of our cathedrals, and are as yet capable of being saved and restored to their sacred uses, while, if much longer neglected, they will, in all probability, be irretrievably lost. The great central tower has fallen within the last thirty years, and some of the arches of the nave during the present year. The small remains of the abbey church of Scarborough have recently been well restored.

*East Riding.*

This division is particularly rich in noble churches. The chief among these is the minster at Beverley, which is exceeded in beauty by very few of the cathedrals. It is quite perfect, being kept in more perfect repair than perhaps any church in England. Its choir is fitted up with most beautiful stall-work, so that it might be entered upon and used as a cathedral without the necessity of any outlay whatever; though, as is the case with most of our cathedrals, there are some features about it demanding amelioration, such as the removal of the present barbarous choir screen, the clearing of the choir from a great quantity of pews which obstruct and disfigure it, and some arrangement by which the nave might be brought into use.

This church would stand in the first rank among our cathedrals, and if the East Riding should be formed into a separate diocese, Beverley seems obviously marked out as its cathedral town.

There remains at Bridlington the magnificent nave of its ancient priory, forming, even in the absence of its choir and transepts, a church of very grand dimensions, and exceedingly noble in its architectural character.

At HULL the church of the Holy Trinity is on a prodigious scale, and quite capable of being used as a cathedral. The nave only is now made use of for the ordinary service, the choir being only used at the time of the Holy Communion. Could this church be converted into a kind of sister cathedral to Beverley, and a collegiate body attached to it, it would appear much more appropriate than its present rather anomalous condition, and would be a great advantage to this large and populous town.

At Howden is a most magnificent conventual church. The nave and transepts remain entire, and are used as the parish church, while the truly exquisite remains of the choir and chapter house lie in ruins. They are of the early part of the fourteenth century, and form one of the finest specimens of that period. The east end is unequalled by any in England for the exquisite beauty of its design, but is fast going to decay. This noble choir is still capable of restoration.

At Patrington in Holderness is a very noble cruciform church in nearly a perfect state.

### *West Riding.*

This Riding, though from its great and rapidly increasing population more important than either of the others, does not contain so many churches of the larger class as the East Riding. Next to the cathedral of Ripon, the most important is the abbey church of SELBY. This is, I think, the only Yorkshire abbey church not more or less in ruins. It is not, however, *quite* perfect, as the south transept was destroyed by the fall of the upper part of the tower during the last century.

This church could readily be converted into a cathedral, though it is unfortunately removed from the great seats of population.

The most important town in the Riding is unquestionably LEEDS. The parish church there is a very large and dignified building, though hardly on a scale suited to a *cathedral*. Near the town are the remains of the ancient abbey church of Kirkstall, of which the walls are entire, excepting a portion of the central tower. It is one of the few Norman abbey churches of which the choir has not been lengthened, and is on this account better suited to *our* uses than almost any of the old abbey or cathedral churches. It is, too, more perfect than almost any of them, and is readily capable of restoration. Many of its old conventual

buildings remain adjoining it; it is in the midst of a manufacturing population, though removed from the actual proximity of the town.

#### 6. LANCASHIRE.

I do not recollect any church in this county suited to be formed into an additional cathedral. (I have included *Furness* with *Westmoreland*, and have consequently already mentioned *Cartmell*. *Furness Abbey* seems too remote from population.) The town obviously demanding a cathedral is *LIVERPOOL*; and had it a bishop, there can be no doubt that the inhabitants would soon provide a cathedral.

#### 7. CHESHIRE.

If relieved from Lancashire by the formation of a see at *Liverpool*, the diocese of *Chester* would hardly require, probably, any further division, nor does the county contain any church suited to a second cathedral. The finest church in the county, excepting the cathedral, is probably that of *Nantwich*.

#### 8. DERBYSHIRE.

Though *DERBY* seems eminently calculated to form the centre of a see, it contains no church fit to become a cathedral. The county is rather deficient in grand churches. Those at *Chesterfield*, *Ashbourne*, and *Bakewell*, are probably the largest it contains.

#### 9. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Here, as in the *East Riding of Yorkshire*, we find a church in every respect fitted for a cathedral, and requiring hardly any outlay to form it into one. I refer to the minster at *SOUTHWELL*. It is a noble and interesting church. The nave and transepts being Norman, and the choir early pointed, and of very fine design. The chapter-house is one of the most exquisite structures in the country. The aisles of the choir are, however, frightfully obstructed by galleries, so much so as to be almost lost in the general view of the interior. Close to the minster are some very interesting remains of an ancient palace of the *Archbishops of York*.

The church of *ST. MARY* at *NOTTINGHAM* is on a great scale, and well suited to become a collegiate church. It is at present very ill arranged, though refitted twice within the last fifteen years.



The church at Worksop consists of the noble nave of the ancient priory church, the remainder having been destroyed.

The church at Newark is on a very great scale, and is a very magnificent structure, well suited to a collegiate body. It is now under restoration.

#### 10. LINCOLNSHIRE.

The ancient diocese of Lincoln has from time to time been so much reduced that, if relieved of the county of Nottingham, it might probably need no further division. The county, though full of fine churches, contains few which approach the scale or character of a cathedral. The largest are probably those at Boston, Grantham, and Louth.

The first of these, though on a strictly parochial plan, is on a scale almost equal to a cathedral, and has a very large chancel furnished with numerous and fine stalls. It is on the whole nearly, if not quite, the finest *parish* church in the kingdom, and has recently been well restored.

#### 11. SHROPSHIRE.

This county appears as much as any to claim to become a distinct diocese; and if so, it is obvious that no place but SHREWSBURY could become its episcopal seat.

Of the ancient abbey church of Shrewsbury the nave only remains, which is partly Norman and partly of later date. It is a fine and interesting structure, and in tolerable condition, being now used as a parish church. Possibly the transepts, central tower, and a short choir, might be added, which would render it very capable of being used as a cathedral.

There are several fine churches and many monastic remains in this county, but Shrewsbury is so unquestionably the only place fitted to be the centre of a diocese that it is not worth while to notice the others.

#### 12. STAFFORDSHIRE.

Could the diocese of Lichfield be relieved from Derbyshire on one side and Shropshire on the other, it would probably need no further division. I will, however, mention as, probably, the two most important of its parish churches, St. Mary's, Stafford, a very fine and extensive cross church, with a most spacious choir, and the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, also a cross church of considerable dimensions, though of no great beauty.

## 13. LEICESTERSHIRE.

Of the ancient abbey of Leicester little now exists, and the town contains no church approaching the cathedral scale. St. Margaret's is the largest. It is a fine and spacious church of the parochial form. The county does not contain many churches of large scale. That at Melton is perhaps the most considerable.

## 14. RUTLAND.

This county contains many beautiful churches, but none of them on a very large scale.

## 15. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

This county, though famous for its parish churches, contains none pre-eminent for size; and as it has the magnificent cathedral of Peterborough, it is, perhaps, needless to enumerate any of its smaller churches.

## 16. HUNTINGDONSHIRE

contains no churches of great size, though many excellent parish churches.

## 17. CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

The cathedral of Ely renders it needless to consider its other churches.

## 18. HEREFORDSHIRE.

A similar remark will apply to this county.

It contains, however, several churches of considerable grandeur, among which the ancient priory church of Leominster is probably the most important, and is a most remarkable and interesting structure.

## 19. WORCESTERSHIRE.

This county, again, containing a cathedral, nearly the same remark applies to it as to the two last. It contains, however, several churches of considerable importance. That at PERSHORE is the noble remnant of a very grand conventual church. That at MALVERN is the church of the ancient abbey, and is nearly perfect and very fine. There are also fine churches at Evesham, though not on a grand scale.

## 20. WARWICKSHIRE.

Warwickshire is one of the counties which seem especially to demand to possess a distinct see. BIRMINGHAM being by far the largest town seems at first sight to claim to be the episcopal seat, but it is quite at one extremity of the county, and contains no church in the least suited to the purpose.

Warwick is centrally situated, and has a rather large church with a fine chancel. The body of the church was, however, rebuilt in the seventeenth century in a bad style.

The most worthy claimant to the honour of becoming the seat of a new bishop is the ancient episcopal city of COVENTRY, which has, jointly with Lichfield, given its name to a bishop till within a very few years. It is a town of 30,000 or 40,000 inhabitants, and contains several fine churches. Its cathedral was destroyed, I believe, in the time of Henry VIII., but the church of St. Michael, though only parochial, is on an enormous scale, and well fitted to become a cathedral, for which its plan, though less dignified, is perhaps more practically suited than the usual cruciform arrangement. It has a very extensive choir, much more open to the church than is usual. The interior is in a pretty good condition, but the exterior, including the noble steeple (one of the loftiest in England), is in a very decayed state, though its gradual restoration is contemplated and earnestly desired by the inhabitants.

## 21. OXFORDSHIRE.

The cathedral at Oxford seems hardly to be one in the strict sense of the term, being only so used on sufferance. Still, however, it seems to render a second needless. The next church in importance in the county is probably that at Dorchester, once the seat of the bishop of an enormous diocese, extending from the Thames to the Humber, and including, I believe, more than was recently contained in the diocese of Lincoln.

## 22. BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

This county is by no means famous for its churches. It contains, however, some of large size. Those at Aylesbury and Wycombe are perhaps the most important.

## 23. BEDFORDSHIRE.

There are no important churches at Bedford. The finest church in the county is that at Dunstable, which is the nave of the ancient priory church, and is a very noble Norman structure of considerable size and

of much dignity of appearance. The churches at Luton and at Leighton Buzzard are large and important structures.

#### 24. HERTFORDSHIRE.

There can be but one opinion of the worthiness of ST. ALBAN's to become an episcopal see. Occupying nearly the site of the ancient Roman capital, and having been the scene of the death of England's protomartyr, it seems to possess strong *primâ facie* claims upon our regard and interest; but in addition to these claims it possesses one of the largest and most venerable churches in the kingdom, a church equal in dimension to our largest cathedrals, and yielding in architectural and antiquarian interest to none of them.

It is not, like Beverley, fit to be entered upon at once, without alteration or repair, for it has for ages been subjected to barbarous mutilation, and from want of funds has fallen very much to decay. Still, however, the essential features of the fabric are entire, and a re-arrangement of the internal fittings would alone render it one of the most practically convenient cathedrals for our present ritual in the kingdom, and that without the anomaly usual in our cathedrals of the congregation being crowded into the choir, nor, on the other hand, of a choir separated by inconvenient obstructions from the congregation. It would become at once a perfect and imposing cathedral and a thoroughly good parish church.

The cost absolutely necessary to effect this would not be very great, though it would be desirable afterwards to follow it up by a gradual system of thorough and substantial reparation. Much has been done in the way of repair during the incumbency of the present rector, but a structure of such enormous dimensions can only be brought into a proper state by a considerable repair fund, which might probably be provided in event of its becoming a cathedral.

This church is not only one of the most curious and venerable which we possess, but it is a perfect treasury of ancient art, containing some of the very finest specimens of the whole range of mediæval architecture which are anywhere to be found. Its careful reparation would be a national benefit, as some features in its present condition are undoubtedly a national disgrace. I refer here particularly to the state of the chapels east of the choir which, though the most exquisite work of the very finest period of pointed architecture, are now a public thoroughfare, and a playground for the boys of the grammar-school which now occupies the beautiful Lady Chapel. I dwell longer on this than on other churches I have mentioned as I consider it far the most important of them all, and it is one for which I feel a peculiar love and veneration.



## 25. ESSEX.

This, again, is a county which has strong claims to become a distinct diocese.

Having formed with Middlesex a separate kingdom during the Saxon Heptarchy, it was natural that it should form a part of the diocese of London, but when it became necessary to sever it from the parent see nothing could be more *unnatural* than to unite it to the diocese of Rochester, from which it was separated in the most marked way both by nature and by historical association. If not placed under London it clearly ought to have its own bishop.

A difficulty, however, occurs in the want of a suitable church. The only church of the more dignified character in this county is that at WALTHAM ABBEY, and this is in a most inconvenient corner of the county, only to be reached from most other parts by passing through London, and is itself a mere fragment, though a very fine one, of the ancient church, not to mention that it is in a very small and unimportant town. The most central place in the county is undoubtedly Chelmsford, but here we have no great church, and the same is the case at COLCHESTER. The latter, however, is the most dignified town by far which the county contains, and the most worthy of giving its name to the see. It contains a considerable number of churches, and once possessed at least two important conventual establishments. The abbey of St. John has been entirely destroyed, its gate-house alone showing its ancient site, which, however, is unoccupied, and would form an excellent position for a dignified church. Of the priory church of St. Botolph there are considerable remains, though not, I fear, capable of restoration. There are several fine churches in the county, but in places of very secondary importance.

## 26. MIDDLESEX.

I would only mention our glorious abbey of WESTMINSTER, without venturing to inquire whether it could become *really* a cathedral, instead of being a cathedral without a bishop.

## 27. GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

I would first mention Gloucester itself, which, I trust, will not long continue united with Bristol, but that each will have its own bishop.

It is very unfortunate that the noble abbey church of TEWKESBURY should be so near to Gloucester, as it would otherwise have been admirably suited to become a cathedral, ranking in this respect with

St. Alban's, Beverley, and Southwell. It ought certainly to be raised above the level of a mere parish church, and to have a collegiate body attached to it. Its present arrangements are of the worst description.

#### 28. BERKSHIRE.

This county seems quite worthy of becoming a distinct diocese. It contains one church, ST. GEORGE'S at WINDSOR, quite fitted to become a cathedral, but READING would appear better situated for it, had it any church capable of being used for the purpose. The abbey is ruined far beyond all remedy. I believe, however, that some interest would be excited by the proposal to erect a cathedral, or a church capable of being so used, at Reading.

#### 29. CORNWALL.

This county, again, has obvious claims to be formed into a diocese. It contains two towns which have at different periods been the seats of a bishop. BODMIN and ST. GERMANS. The former is by far the most central, but the church is, though large, a simply parochial one in its form, and is of the latter part of the fifteenth century. The church of St. Germans is a far more venerable and dignified building, retaining much of the aspect of a conventual church. I do not know it from my own observation, but from all I hear I should think that it is quite capable of being converted into a cathedral, particularly if the choir, which fell some centuries back, should be rebuilt.

St. Germans is unfortunately but a small place, and is situated quite at the eastern extremity of the county.

#### 30. DEVONSHIRE.

In the event of the separation of Cornwall from the diocese of EXETER no further division would, I presume, be needed. I may mention, however, that the church of St. Mary Ottery is a noble building, having quite the appearance of a cathedral.

#### 31. DORSETSHIRE.

This county possesses one church eminently suited to the object under consideration, and in a place which was formerly the seat of a bishop. I refer to SHERBORNE Minster. This church is on a scale quite suited to a cathedral, and its whole aspect would quite accord with such an increase of dignity. It has quite recently been restored in great measure, in an admirable manner and at great cost, under the direction of Mr. Carpenter, so that very little outlay would probably be required.

## 32. SOMERSETSHIRE.

The abbey church of BATH is well suited to become a cathedral in the event of the county being divided into two dioceses. The fabric is in a tolerable state of repair, I believe, but its internal arrangements are of the worst description ; its nave and transepts being empty and unused, while the choir and its aisles are crowded with pews and galleries quite in the manner of the proprietary chapels common in watering places. Indeed it would appear as if the inhabitants, perplexed by living at once in an ancient city and a fashionable watering-place, had aimed at uniting the two ideas by the conversion of their cathedral into a proprietary chapel. The church is, however, well adapted to the union of cathedral and parochial use. I looked at it a few years back (on accidentally going to see the church) especially with reference to this point, and came to the conclusion that the two objects could be united there in an eminent degree ; indeed, that though its architecture is not very dignified, it is particularly well calculated to form a cathedral consistent both with correct ecclesiastical arrangement and with the requirements of our own ritual.

## 33. WILTSHIRE.

Should Dorsetshire be severed from the diocese of Salisbury this county need probably not be divided. The portion which is now attached to the see of Gloucester might, however, either continue so or be united to that of Bath, should that become a distinct see. This division, however, contains the remains of MALMSBURY Abbey, a very noble fragment.

## 34. HAMPSHIRE.

The same may be said of the diocese of Winchester should Surrey be taken from it. I may, however, mention, that the abbey church at Romsey is in every way suited to become a cathedral church, and that there is also a very noble priory church at Christ Church not unsuited to the purpose.

## 35. SURREY.

Should this county be formed into a diocese, SOUTHWARK seems the most proper position for its bishop, and the church of St. Mary Overy or St. Saviour, had it not been for the wretched substitute for its ancient and beautiful nave, would have been admirably adapted to become a cathedral church. It was a most noble cruciform church, equal in scale and dignity to many abbey churches. Its exterior had

fallen to decay and been disfigured by brick casings, and its beautiful Ladye Chapel was almost in ruins when, about thirty years ago, a feeling arose for its restoration, and the choir was placed in the hands of Mr. George Gwilt, an architect of great antiquarian knowledge and of excellent feeling, residing in Southwark. He devoted himself enthusiastically to the task, and restored the interior of the choir *perfectly* to its ancient design. Its exterior was too far gone for the design to be recovered with absolute certainty, but it was brought into a good state of reparation, and, with the exception of the want of its high roof, into a consistent architectural form. The parishioners, however, did not approve of so much pains and antiquarian research being expended on their church, and when they proceeded to the transepts they heartlessly placed them in other hands, and their restoration was effected in a manner very inferior to that of the choir; though so far as regards the interior, the choir and transepts may be said to be in a nearly perfect state. Shortly after this, the beautiful Ladye Chapel was restored by private subscription, and Mr. Gwilt, to prevent its falling into less careful hands, liberally carried out the restoration in a most admirable manner as his own offering to the work. Still, however, the noble nave remained unrestored. Unhappily a hint was given that the roof timbers were decayed, and an architect was deputed to report upon them. He too rashly condemned the roof as unsafe, and the parishioners ordered it to be removed, without taking any steps for the substitution of a new one.

For two or three years a violent parish quarrel raged as to what was to be done with the roofless nave,—a dispute which was unhappily settled for them through the effects of wet and frost on the old walls, which were chiefly of chalk, and it was found necessary (or thought to be so) to take down the whole nave. Thus was lost a noble structure which, but a few years ago, had been as substantial as any church in London. The materials, including some of the finest details of the early English style, were indiscriminately sold, and a new nave erected, of which I will not trust myself to speak.

It has been ever since the feeling of those who love church architecture, and who knew the church in its comparatively perfect state, that the nave *MUST* be sooner or later rebuilt upon its original design, which may yet be gathered from published prints, from the sketches of different persons, especially of Mr. Gwilt and his sons, and from its conformity to a considerable extent with the character of the choir. Were this done the church would be well worthy of becoming a cathedral, but during the interval its beautiful choir and transepts would not be unsuited to the purpose, and the parochial services might be



continued in the modern nave. When I first knew the church the site of its ancient conventual buildings remained unoccupied on its north side; now, unhappily, it is covered by vast masses of warehouses.

### 36. SUSSEX.

It is difficult to find in this county a church suited to the purpose in question. At Shoreham are the choir and transepts of a very fine church, but it seems too near Chichester. At Winchelsea are the remains of a church of exquisite beauty, but the town has almost ceased to exist. Brighton and Hastings would probably be the claimants for the honour of giving the name to a new see should the diocese be divided.

### 37. KENT.

This county containing two cathedrals does not seem to require more. The great object would appear to be to divide the county fairly between the two, and to bring back the diocese of Rochester from its recent aberrations.

### 38. SUFFOLK.

This county seems well suited to become a distinct diocese. Ipswich contains no church which seems worthy of becoming a cathedral. At Bury St. Edmunds, however, the church of St. Mary, though on a parochial type, seems well suited to the purpose, and the ecclesiastical associations of the place seem to favour its becoming the episcopal see.

### 39. NORFOLK.

If relieved of the county of Suffolk, the diocese of Norwich might not perhaps need further division. Should this, however, be thought desirable, there are many fine churches throughout the county which might be made use of; that at GREAT YARMOUTH is perhaps on the whole most worthy of consideration.

### 40. WALES (including Monmouthshire).

The four Welsh sees are situated, two at the extreme north, and two at the extreme south, of the principality, and it would consequently appear desirable that a more *central* diocese should be added.

There is no suitable town or church in a *very* central position.

The best suited, however, seems to be BRECON, a town of considerable importance, and containing a very large and venerable conventual church, besides a distinct collegiate chapel, still, or till recently, retaining its prebendal endowments. The priory church is a very fine cruciform structure. Though inferior in beauty either to the cathedral of St. David's or Llandaff, it is fully equal to that of St. Asaph, and far superior to that of Bangor. Its nave only is now used as a parish church, excepting that the chancel is used at the time of the Holy Communion. The whole together, however, would be by no means too large for the united purposes of a cathedral and parish church, and from the moderate dimensions of the choir it would be particularly suited to our ritual. The choir and transepts with two side chapels are very fine examples of the early English style. The nave is a little later. The church would be in every way suitable as a cathedral; and a new diocese, including the counties of Brecknock and Radnor, with possibly a portion of Cardigan, would be a great relief to the see of St. David's, and a great advantage to central Wales. Should Monmouthshire be separated from the diocese of Llandaff it is difficult to name a suitable place for its ecclesiastical capital. The finest church by very far in the county is the celebrated ruined abbey church of Tintern. This is, however, quite out of the way of population. It is readily susceptible of restoration, more so probably than any one of our ruined abbey churches, the walls, arcades, clerestories, &c., being all in a nearly perfect state. It would be a truly noble undertaking to restore such a church to its sacred uses.

#### 41. THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

The great distance of these beautiful islands from their diocesan is a serious hindrance to the efficiency of the church among their inhabitants, and they seem to have very strong claims to become a separate diocese. I fear that the islands do not contain any church well fitted to become a cathedral. The two most convenient places are St. Helier's in Jersey, and St. Peter's Port in Guernsey. The latter is the most central, and it has a good cross church of very fair dimensions. I am not acquainted with the church of St. Helier.

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I have now gone to the best of my information through all the counties, &c. If any more detailed information should strike me as desirable I shall be most happy to use my best exertions to procure it.

I may, perhaps, so far recapitulate as to mention again the districts which have struck me as appearing the best suited to form new dioceses, with the towns and churches which in such case would appear suited to become their episcopal seats :—

1. NORTHUMBERLAND . . . . . HEXHAM. A very noble church.
2. WESTMORELAND and Furness . . . . . KENDAL or Cartmell. Good churches ;  
the latter an ancient priory church.
3. Part of the North Riding of YORKSHIRE Qu. WHITBY ? Ruined abbey.
4. The East Riding . . . . . BEVERLEY, with HULL. The minster  
at Beverley perfect, and a noble  
church at Hull.
5. Part of West Riding . . . . . Qu. LEEDS ? Using Kirkstall Abbey.
6. Western LANCASHIRE . . . . . LIVERPOOL. (No cathedral.)
7. Qu. DERBYSHIRE ? . . . . . DERBY. (No cathedral.)
8. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE . . . . . SOUTHWELL. (Minster perfect.)
9. SHROPSHIRE . . . . . SHREWSBURY. Nave of abbey church.
10. Qu. LEICESTERSHIRE ? . . . . . Qu. LEICESTER ? Perhaps St. Mar-  
garet's. (No church really suitable.)
11. WARWICKSHIRE . . . . . COVENTRY. St. Michael's.
12. HERTFORDSHIRE . . . . . ST. ALBANS. The abbey church.
13. ESSEX . . . . . COLCHESTER. (No cathedral.)
14. Qu. Part of Middlesex ? . . . . . Qu. WESTMINSTER ? The abbey church.
15. BERKSHIRE . . . . . Qu. WINDSOR or READING ?
16. CORNWALL . . . . . BODMIN or ST. GERMAN'S.
17. DORSETSHIRE . . . . . SHERBORNE. The minster.
18. SOMERSETSHIRE . . . . . BATH. The abbey.
19. SURREY . . . . . SOUTHWARK. St. Saviour's.
20. SUFFOLK . . . . . BURY ST. EDMUNDS. St. Mary's.
21. WALES, counties of Brecknock  
and Radnor. BRECON. The priory church.
22. The CHANNEL ISLANDS . . . . . St. Peter's, Guernsey, or St. Helier's,  
Jersey. (The latter I believe not a  
good church.)

I should also have mentioned the restoration of the see of Gloucester, and the return of the diocese of Rochester to Kent, from its wanderings beyond the Thames.

I will only venture upon one more suggestion, which is one, perhaps, scarcely within my province. The original dioceses were probably regulated in some degree by the limits of the kingdoms forming the Heptarchy ; these, as population increased, were subdivided from time to time as convenience dictated. The suggestion on which I would venture is, that in re-divisions these historical associations should not be lost sight of, as if we were dividing up a country with no respect to

its ecclesiastical history and divisions. I do not say that new dioceses can always form distinct divisions of ancient ones, but I would suggest that this should be aimed at to as great an extent as is found to be practicable. It will not only connect the future with the past, and unite our ecclesiastical history with that of our church from the earliest ages, but it will no doubt obviate much confusion and much convenience as to the archives and registries of the dioceses.

Apologising for the length to which I have extended my remarks,

I have the honour to remain,

My dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

GEO. GILBERT SCOTT.

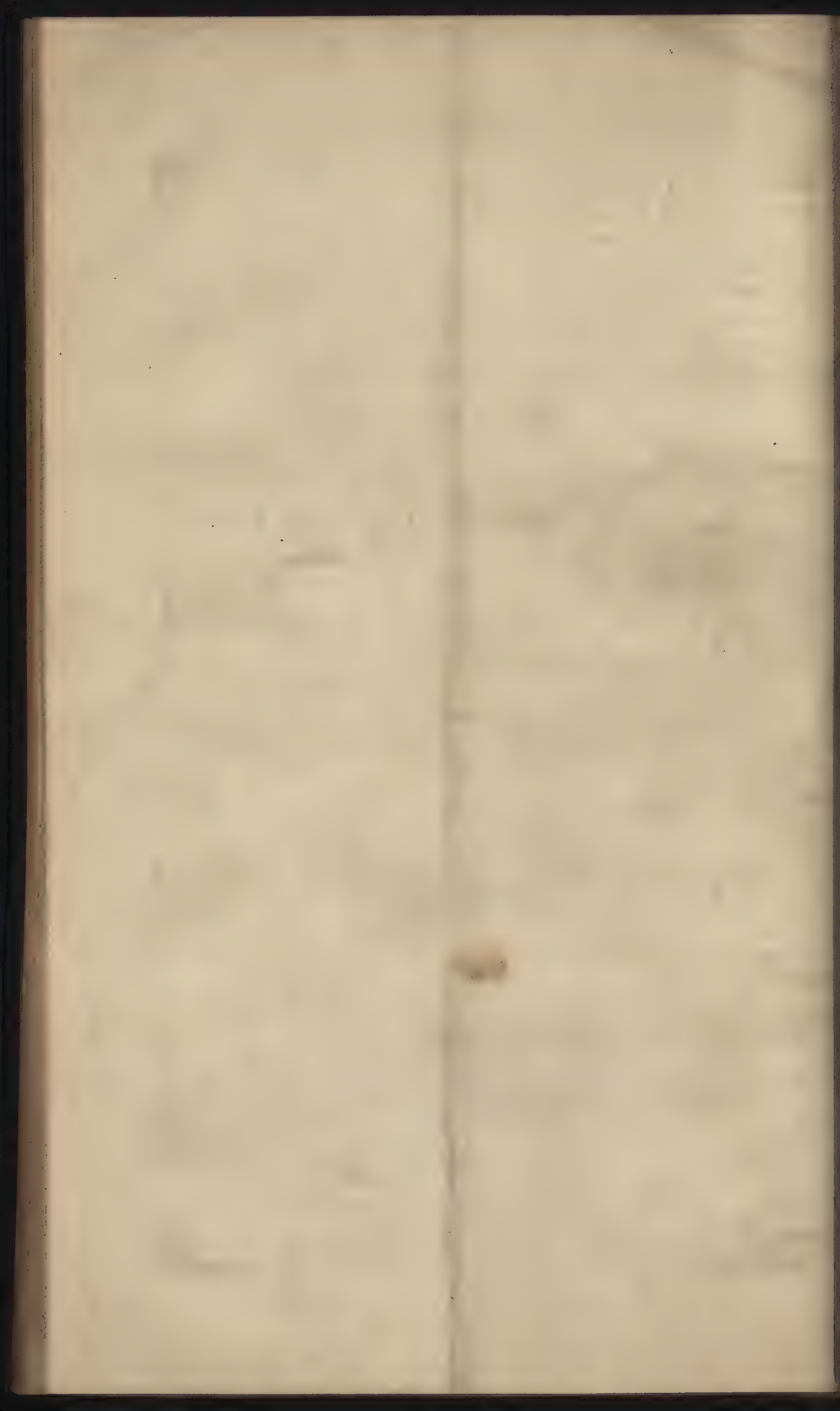
To the Rev. CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D.

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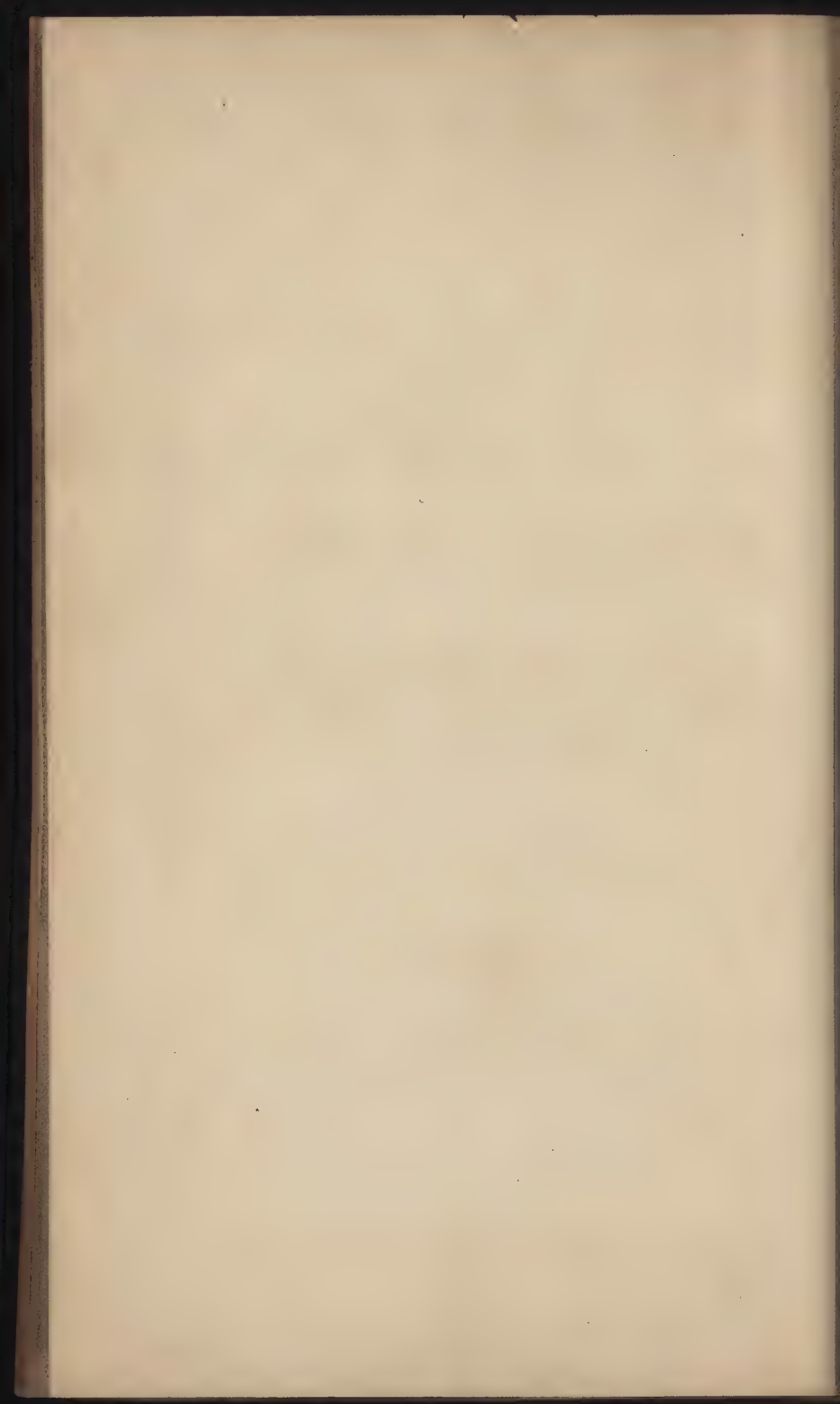


THE NATIONAL GALLERY

ITS FORMATION AND MANAGEMENT.

BY

WILLIAM DYCE, Esq. R.A.



THE  
NATIONAL GALLERY

ITS FORMATION AND MANAGEMENT

CONSIDERED IN

A LETTER ADDRESSED, BY PERMISSION,

TO

H. R. H. THE PRINCE ALBERT, K.G.

*&c. &c. &c.*

BY

WILLIAM DYCE, Esq. R.A.

PROFESSOR OF THE THEORY OF THE FINE ARTS IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

— SI QUID NOVISTI RECTIUS ISTIS  
CANDIDUS IMPERTI; SI NON, HIS UTERE MECUM.

LONDON:  
CHAPMAN AND HALL, 193 PICCADILLY.

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1853.



LONDON :

Printed by GEORGE BARCLAY, Castle Street, Leicester Square.

## A LETTER,

*&c. &c.*

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SIR,

It was my purpose, some years ago, to have published a few observations on one of the points which I now have the honour of submitting to the consideration of Your Royal Highness.

At that period, circumstances appeared to me to furnish a legitimate occasion for directing public attention to the subject of the National Gallery, more particularly with respect to the principles on which the selection of works for purchase ought to depend. A vacancy had occurred in the office of Keeper; and this, while it led to speculation as to the manner in which the appointment would be filled, gave voice, at the same time, to a very considerable amount of latent dissatisfaction with the results of the past management. There were various grounds for the disappointment which manifested itself; but in one particular all were agreed: whatever might be the cause,—whether it were from a defect in the constitution of the administrative body, or from partial views of art entertained by them, or from an inadequate conception of the office they were ap-

pointed to discharge,—the character and progress of the collection had not kept pace with public expectation. It neither realised; nor gave evidence of progress towards realising, the idea of a national collection of pictures.

This was felt even by those (and at that time they were a large majority) who, if the question had been proposed to them, would have found it difficult to say, in very precise terms, what a national collection of pictures ought to be. But it was obvious to the most cursory observer, that an entire want of system prevailed in the management of the Gallery. Without questioning the desirableness of the additions made to the collection from time to time, the character of the additions indicated that they were due rather to accident, and the bias of individual predilections for certain schools of art, than to any predetermined plan for the formation of the Gallery. This, indeed, was not left to conjecture. In 1836, the Keeper of the Gallery had stated in evidence before a committee of the House of Commons,\* that, so far as he was aware, no plan had been proposed by the Trustees either for the purchase, or “for the historical arrangement of pictures according to schools, or for making a distinction between the great schools of Italy and the different national schools;” and nothing had subsequently transpired to evince that any such plan had, up to the period to which I refer, been devised or acted upon.

This want of system, I say, was felt to be inconsistent with the due administration of a national esta-

\* Report of Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, 1835-6.

blishment. Those who might be unable to define the precise difference, felt, at least, certain that there must be some difference between the formation of a private collection suited to individual predilections, or in conformity with an ephemeral fashion for certain schools, and the formation of a public museum for national gratification and instruction. Those who might be unable to enumerate the masters in art, whose works ought to form part of a national museum,—to describe the origin and progress of the schools to which they belonged,—or to propose a scheme by which those works should be so arranged as to exhibit the development, the perfection, and the decline of the art of various epochs and schools,—felt, nevertheless, that the systematic consideration of such points must be the business of the persons appointed to superintend the formation of a national collection.

Under these circumstances, it seemed to me that a favourable opportunity had occurred for some attempt to define the purposes of a National Gallery, and to draw up such a scheme for its contents as might at once be applied as a test of the progress already made, and as a measure of the amount yet to be accomplished ; and this, accordingly, I proposed to undertake.

The appointment, however, of a successor to the late Keeper, in the person of Sir Charles (then Mr.) Eastlake, induced me at once to abandon the task I had assigned to myself. It was impossible to doubt that the new appointment would bring with it the influence of taste, intelligence in art, and knowledge of its history, of as high an order as this country could



produce. I looked upon it, indeed, as a sort of guarantee that the very principles to be adopted in the formation of the Gallery, of which I myself proposed to become the humble advocate, would not only be developed systematically under the new management, but acted upon so far as circumstances permitted; I gladly, therefore, left the matter in abler hands than my own.

These expectations, I regret to say, were doomed to disappointment. For all that appeared, matters remained precisely as they had done since the commencement of the Gallery in 1823. The additions to the collection made by purchase between the years 1844 and 1847, as well as the known opportunities of purchase overlooked or disregarded, evinced with sufficient clearness that, during that period, the Trustees had made no advances towards the systematic fulfilment of their undertaking.

Perhaps it is only due to Sir C. Eastlake to observe, that, considering his high position in the arts, the public may have invested him with responsibilities based rather on his capacity to undertake them, than with those *only* which strictly belonged to his office as Keeper. While, on the one hand, public opinion delegated to him something like an authority to guide the proceedings of the Trustees, and made him, in a manner, responsible for the whole management, he, on the other, may have conceived (and, doubtless, was justified by experience in believing) that the defined responsibilities of his office precluded him from a formal expression of opinion—perhaps from giving any opinion whatever—on points which were not referred to him.

But, however that may have been, matters remained as they were. Indeed, the remarks of an intelligent writer, made in 1840, have continued to be equally applicable down to the present moment. "It must be acknowledged," says Mr. Edwards,\* "that there has been altogether a great want of *system* in the management of this important institution. Some of its best accessions might fairly be ascribed to accident, yet but little care seems to be taken to give it the benefit of such favourable, and often fortuitous opportunities of increase, as of late have not unfrequently occurred, and no sort of *plan* for its enlargement appears ever to have been considered."

Such, then, is the state of the case. Twenty-eight years have elapsed since the commencement of the Gallery, and yet the question which, one would have thought, must have met the Trustees *in limine*,—at the very threshold of their duties,—remains undecided. They have not yet determined what their labours tend to—what it is they are to accomplish. They have never informed the public what they conceive the National Gallery ought to be,—what it is to consist of,—how it is to advance towards completion,—how it is to be arranged,—what is to be its purpose; yet these, surely, were matters for preliminary consideration.

It will scarcely, I think, be urged, that the views of the Trustees on these points are developed in the results of their management. Such a supposition would amount almost to an affront to so distinguished a body of men.

\* Administrative Economy of the Fine Arts in England. London, 1840. Pp. 119, 120.

I cannot imagine for a moment that, having deliberately considered the question, they passed a resolution to the effect, that the National Gallery ought to consist of a miscellaneous and fortuitous assemblage of pictures, placed together without order or arrangement on any recognisable plan ; yet this is the inference to be drawn from the actual state of the collection. I cannot suppose that they deliberately resolved to make the enlargement of the collection depend solely on the accidental occurrence of public sales, or private offers of pictures ; yet such has been their practice. It is far more likely, and probably is really the case, that the Trustees have not acted, and never intended to act, on any system ; that they have simply considered it to be their duty to purchase for the Gallery from time to time, as opportunity permitted, such pictures of merit by masters whose works they were more or less familiar with, as they conceived would be desirable acquisitions under any circumstances ; and that, in fact, they have never come to any resolution at all on the question, what the collection ought, as a whole, to be.

I think I have seen it stated somewhere, as the opinion of the Trustees, that the time has not arrived for the due arrangement of the collection, or the adoption of some scheme for its enlargement and completion. But whatever weight may attach to the considerations on which that opinion is said to be based—and every one, I imagine, is willing to make due allowance for the restrictions imposed on the Trustees by the insufficient accommodation of the present building—it can scarcely be admitted that the difficulty, under existing circum-

stances, of doing *much* in the way of enlarging and arranging the collection, forms a good reason for doing *nothing* in the way of deciding how it ought to be enlarged and arranged. On the contrary, one would have imagined that if any argument were needed for an increase of accommodation, the very strongest possible case might have been drawn from a well-considered and exact statement of the necessity, both present and prospective, which there was for it.

But perhaps other reasons may have influenced the Trustees. Possibly it was felt by them that the adoption of a scheme for the enlargement of the collection would be futile unless it were accompanied by some modification of the responsibilities of management. Perhaps, though it was foreseen that this must be the case, they were either not prepared to recommend so great a change as might appear to be called for, or they were not agreed what it ought to be; and there is no doubt that this is an element which complicates the question of the future of the National Gallery. If we could confine the selection of pictures within certain bounds, and purchase the works of those masters only whose names are familiar to most of us, no great embarrassment would be likely to occur; but this is out of the question. If a comprehensive scheme for the formation of the National Gallery is to be acted upon, there is nothing more certain than that those on whom the responsibility of its formation is to devolve, must embark on what Boschini terms, "*L'alto mar de la pittura*,"—they must be able to exercise a degree of critical acumen, and possess an extended and minute acquaintance especially with the



earlier schools of art and the peculiarities of individual masters, which not only cannot, with any pretence of truth, be attributed to ordinary connoisseurship among us, but is really not common in any country. I do not think it is any disparagement to the Trustees to express a doubt whether—unless (which is scarcely warrantable) we assume that, as a body, they do *more* than fairly represent the average amount of taste and knowledge of art among the cultivated classes of society—they would not experience considerable embarrassment in deciding, as responsible officers, on many cases which are not merely supposable, but which will certainly occur if the enlargement of the collection is to take place on a pre-determined and comprehensive scheme. The average knowledge of ancient art among us is probably higher now than it was ten or fifteen years since; but it is still, I fear, true, as Mr. Solly said in 1836, that a great part of the region of art is a *terra incognita*; or, to use his own words, “that there are a great many painters of the Italian (he might have added of the German and Netherlandish) schools *who are totally unknown in this country*; but whose works would do honour to any gallery.”

If, then, we are to penetrate this unknown region, it becomes essential that we should be provided with competent guides. It becomes an important question whether the present form of management will prove adequate to the future exigencies of the institution. Considering the qualifications indispensable in the persons who are to undertake the duty of selecting pictures for purchase, can that duty be committed with advantage to a board consisting, with one exception, of amateurs? There is,

I think, a *primâ facie* case for doubting this. The resolution of this point, however, hinges on the previous question, viz. What ought the national collection of pictures to be? and to this I now propose to address myself.

I.—*What ought a national collection of pictures to be?*

What ought a national collection of any kind to be? Of books, for instance; or of objects of natural history; or of manufactures? What do we mean by a *national* collection? What are the characteristics which seem at once to attach themselves to the idea of a public museum of any kind?

Extensiveness will, I think, suggest itself as one of those characteristics. The means at the command of a nation ought to insure this; and for the same reason, shall we not say, that a public museum ought especially to contain such objects as from their size, their costliness, and on other accounts, are beyond the reach of private collectors. Then, again, as every collection has in view some definite purpose, the systematic fulfilment of that purpose on the most enlarged basis; in other words, systematic arrangement, and a *wholeness* or completeness in relation to its particular purpose, seem necessary to the idea of a national collection. I think we may assume, then, first, that a public museum ought to fulfil its purpose; and secondly, that the objects contained in it ought not merely to be coextensive with that purpose, but illustrate it with the greatest possible fulness and variety: that is to say, the collection ought to be at

once extensive and complete. But what are we to understand by the completeness of a collection of pictures? The reply to this question depends upon the view which we take of its purpose. Now all, I imagine, will agree that the object of our National Gallery is to afford instruction and enjoyment; that it is, or ought to be, an institution where the learned study art and the unlearned enjoy it, where *docti artis rationem intelligunt, indocti sentiunt voluptatem*; so that we have to consider how that instruction and enjoyment which the Gallery is calculated to afford ought to be provided for.

Now, if there are any (and at this time of day it is to be hoped they are very few) who think that the purpose of the National Gallery will be served by what in popular phrase is termed "a selection of the best works of the best masters," I will simply beg them to apply their opinion to the case of any section of a national library to convince themselves how utterly untenable it is. Suppose that the formation of a collection of English dramatic poetry were in question; what should we think or say of the Trustees of the British Museum if they were to decide who were the best English dramatists, what were their best works, and to exclude from the library all but the comparatively few productions they might happen to think desirable? Would such a proceeding be tolerated for a single moment? Would it be endured that they—that any body of men however eminent—should possess the right to withhold from the public any attainable materials for literary knowledge and criticism; that, in fact, they should have it in their power, actually or virtually, to pronounce a

judgment on the comparative merits of authors, the accuracy of which could only be tested by the very comparison which the judgment has the effect of preventing. Yet there is no difference between such a proceeding and the restriction of the national collection of pictures to such works as might happen to be considered the best.

Probably there are few persons in these days who will be found to advocate such a course. Notwithstanding appearances, I do not imagine the Trustees of the National Gallery ever seriously contemplated the establishment of an *index expurgatorius* of pictures; on the contrary, I believe that opinions tending in that direction are obsolete, or if held now, are held as a kind of tradition by those who have not taken the trouble, or had the opportunity, of examining the grounds of them. They belong rather to a past age, when people were really unacquainted with the works which they ignored, or were taught to undervalue, and with the position which the authors of them occupied in the history of art. But a better day has dawned. The time, it is to be hoped, has passed for ever, when in England, *proh pudor!* it was even possible that the great—the paramount authority in such matters—no less than the Keeper of the National Gallery—could be A MAN WHO HAD NEVER BEEN IN ITALY! who, therefore, could never have seen the best works—by some of them no work at all—of such masters as *Cima da Conegliano, Vittore Carpaccio, Marco Basaiti, Benozzo Gozzoli, Gian Bellini, Luca Signorelli, Domenico Ghirlandaio, Perugino, Pinturicchio*, and many others equally eminent, and, as Mr. Solly



remarks, even of more recent date. Was it wonderful, if, under such a prompter, people should talk as if the page of art had been a blank until Raffaele and his distinguished contemporaries and successors arose; as if art had sprung up, at one leap, from infancy to manhood, —from barbarism to the utmost refinement; as if the remains of art were only of two classes, the one hard, dry, meagre, Gothic, tasteless, childish, of which we knew and wanted to know nothing; and the other adorned with every grace and perfection of art!

Better knowledge, however, and a juster criticism, have dispelled these mistakes. Turgid and unmeaning panegyrics of Raffaele, Michael Angelo, Titian, Correggio, and the rest, to the utter disparagement of all who preceded them, have given place to a truer estimate of artistic excellence. It is now perceived that art had its *adolescence*, as well as its *infancy* and its *manhood*; and that its progress towards maturity has not always been identical with progress towards excellence *in all respects*. If the maturity of judgment and technical skill of later times were wanting in its *adolescent* state, they were more than compensated for by a freshness of thought and intention, a vivacity, a gaiety, a vividness of impression, an innocence, simplicity, and truthfulness, which belong to first efforts, and which technical imperfection tended even to develope in greater force, than the more universal aims of later art permitted. And, it may be added, there is, in general, a *suggestiveness* about the works of earlier masters which gives them a peculiar value and interest, especially to the practical student of art. They ever seem to suggest, and to be straining after, something

higher than they have realised—a character which came to be reversed in the productions of later times.

I think, then, it will be admitted that if the National Gallery be intended to afford the full enjoyment which may be derived from the contemplation of works of art, the collection must take a far wider range than it has done hitherto. But enjoyment is not its only nor its chief object in relation to the point under consideration ; and for this reason : that if the practical instruction and critical study of art, for which the National Gallery ought to afford ample materials, be duly provided for, provision will at the same time have been made for all the enjoyment to be derived from the sight of works of art.

This, then, is the sum of the inquiry, viz. : What are we to reckon adequate provision for such study and instruction? But there cannot, I imagine, be two opinions about the reply—*the collection can aim at no lower object than to exhibit the whole developement of the art of painting ; the examples of which it consists must, therefore, range over its whole history.*

There is nothing extravagant, impossible, or even novel in this idea of a National Gallery of paintings. It is the idea which has regulated the formation of the Royal Museum of Berlin ; which has been adopted in the arrangement of the Pinacothek of Munich ; and has been recognised, and partly acted upon, in the Gallery of the Louvre. Nor is it really new even in this country. The inquiries of a committee of the House of Commons in 1837, on the subject of “ Arts and Manufactures,” led them, among other questions, to consider the condition and prospects of the National Gallery ; and it is

obvious, not only from the opinions expressed in evidence, but from the questions proposed by the Committee, that the same idea was entertained at that time. Among the questions proposed, for instance, to Mr. Seguier, then Keeper of the National Gallery, I find the following :—

1594. Have you ever turned your attention to what I called before the collocation of pictures, their arrangement in schools, and their division, so as to make them as much historical as possible, connecting the masters with their pupils, and giving an instructive, as well as interesting, view to the public of the pictures before them ?

1600. Has there been no provision in the plan of the National Gallery for the historical arrangement of pictures according to schools, and for making a distinction between the great schools of Italy and the different national schools ?

1602. Then is this building (which ought to be on a great and comprehensive plan, to be an eternal monument of the arts in this country) to be a merely a Gallery where pictures are to be placed without due distribution, and not a Gallery worthy of this nation ?

Amongst the questions proposed to Mr. Solly, an eminent collector of pictures, the following occur, which I give with the replies to them :—

1839. Is it not desirable for a person who is to judge of pictures for a National Gallery to have a general, historical, comprehensive view of the history of pictures, without reference to any particular school?—Certainly.

1840. What do you consider to be the faults of the body which is at present appointed to select pictures for the National Gallery?—It appears to me that their qualifications are too negative ; that they have not actively made it their study, that

they never formed a plan how the National Gallery should be established.

1841. What do you consider the class of pictures particularly required to make a *complete collection* for a National Gallery?—*If it is to be a complete collection, of course it must commence from the time of Cimabue and Giotto. . . .* I should think the preferable way would be to commence with the very best masters, those who had brought it (the art) to the greatest state of perfection, and then go up to the source, as well as come down to the present time.

1850. Would it not be a delusion in the public, and prevent the possibility of our ever possessing a collection of pictures worthy of this city, if we were to regard it (the then collection) as other than a mere commencement?—Yes, certainly.

1851. Do you not consider it very important to adopt a comprehensive scheme in the formation of a National Gallery?

1852. And to comprise as much as possible the artists of the various times, whose works shall illustrate the history of art?

1853. Is it not probable that such an historical collection will be less likely to lead to mannerism on the part of modern artists, than a selection of some particular school?

1854. The artists to whom you have referred (artists mostly unknown in this country, living from 1510 to 1530) who were contemporaneous with Raphael, painted in a purer and more manly style than many of those who are better known in this country. I allude particularly to some of the Bolognese school, whose pictures fetch a higher price?

1855. Is it your opinion the study of these earlier masters is likely to lead to a purer style on the part of our own painters, than of the later and more effeminate school?—Certainly; I perfectly agree with the questions that have just been put to me, and I am not aware that I could add anything to them, as



I think they comprehend all that I should have thought of suggesting myself upon the subject.

Again, at No. 1912, Mr. J. Leigh is asked :—

Do you think that this country particularly requires the means of appreciating and deriving instruction from fine works of art?—I think it stands greatly in need of it, particularly the chaster works of the Italian school.

1913. You say the more chaste works of the Italian school : do you refer to an earlier era?—I allude to that particular period so justly referred to in the questions put to Mr. Solly.

1914. Do you mean the historical painters who were contemporaneous or prior to Raphael?—Yes.

1915. You prefer those to the schools of Bologna?—Yes; it is a school whose works we are exceedingly in want of to enable us to correct the tendency of the English style towards weakness of design, effeminacy of composition, and flauntiness of colouring.

It has been already stated that the collection of pictures in the Royal Museum of Berlin was formed in accordance with the principle I have laid down ; it will not therefore be necessary to adduce at length the evidence given by Dr. G. F. Waagen, the highly accomplished and intelligent director of that gallery. With respect to the actual formation of the National Gallery, he conceives, that while the collection ought ultimately to exhibit the historical developement of the art of painting, it is not advisable to begin by the purchase of such very ancient specimens as are chiefly interesting in relation to the history of art ; but having formed a nucleus of the masters of the age of Raffaele, to add to it in both directions, tracing the history of the art upwards to the earliest times, and

downwards through its declension during the last three hundred years.

The evidence of Baron Von Klenze, architect of the Pinacothek of Munich, though it chiefly refers to the actual arrangement of pictures in that Gallery, shows that the arrangement is based on the same idea of a national collection.

“With respect,” he says (2882), “to pictures, this is the system which has been adopted. They are placed according to the schools. I wished to allow the possibility of arriving at any particular school, without going through another; and for this purpose I have a corridor running the whole length of the building, which communicates with each separate room. . . . With regard to the classing of pictures. The first large room is for the ancient Flemish school, with three smaller rooms attached for smaller pictures; after that a great room for the ancient German school, with four small rooms; then three large rooms for the more recent Flemish school, with ten small rooms; then a room for the French and Spanish school, and then three large rooms, one of which is ninety-three feet long, for the Italian school, and three small rooms for the smaller pictures. . . .”

Ten years later, in 1848, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider “the best mode of finding additional room for works of art given to the public, or purchased by means of parliamentary grants.” From the minutes of evidence I extract the following valuable expression of opinion, in corroboration of the views I have advanced:—

103. (Addressed to Sir C. Eastlake.) With a view to the interests of the public, . . . should you recommend the

erection of an entirely new building?—By all means. I think this is the only way to proceed effectually in carrying out the great purposes for which the National Gallery is supposed to be established,—*that of forming a complete collection relative to the history of the art*, and to exhibit the pictures that are so collected so as to benefit those who are to study them; at present I do not think the building is compatible with either object.

With respect to the practicability of forming such a collection as I have contemplated, I need not say much. It is certainly to be regretted that advantage has not been taken of the numerous occasions, which have presented themselves within the last ten or fifteen years, to enrich the Gallery with specimens of the earlier Italian, German, and Flemish masters. Still, if it be remembered that only fifteen years after the commencement of the Royal Gallery of Berlin it possessed works of all classes, from the rude Byzantine down to productions of the last century, to the number of nearly twelve hundred, we need entertain no great misgiving as to the possibility of forming even a very considerable collection within a moderate period. I see no reason to doubt, if it were once decided that our collection was to extend over the whole history of the art, that, under proper management, but a few years would elapse before many, if not most, of the schools would be represented in some sort by examples.

I say, *represented in some sort*, because it appears to me that, in many cases, this is all that can be accomplished *at first*; in some cases, all that need *ever* be accomplished. It is of course highly desirable that the collection should

consist solely of the very best existing works of all masters ; but it would be mere blindness to overlook the utter improbability, not to say impossibility, under ordinary circumstances, of ever realising this idea. Not only are the opportunities of acquiring works of the highest class by any master, always of rare occurrence, but of some masters, the best specimens never can occur for sale at all in the ordinary course of events. Our expectations, at any rate, must be bounded by ordinary probabilities, and on that account it must, I think, be laid down as a sort of rule in the formation of the collection, that *the mere genuineness* of works is chiefly to be had regard to in the first instance. I mean, that considering the object in view, and the possibilities of the case, the most sensible, rapid, and, it may be added, the most economical course, would be to complete the various series by genuine examples, such as for the most part may be obtained without much difficulty ; which, though not of the highest order, yet, being genuine, are, as such, sufficient to represent the class to which they belong, until better specimens can be procured. When first-rate works occur for sale, let them be purchased by all means ; but if the collection is to consist of a series of works illustrative of the history of art, it must be remembered, first, that this is an object which can never be accomplished by the fortuitous acquisition of first-rate works ; and, secondly, that its mere accomplishment does not involve the acquisition of first-rate works at all. The Royal Museum of Berlin is a case in point. The series of works contained in it is complete, or nearly so ; and in most instances the works are the



genuine productions of the masters to whom they are attributed. So far, therefore, as it is the object of the collection to exhibit the history and developement of the art of painting, that object has been accomplished ; but there is no part of the collection which might not be greatly amplified, and perhaps but few works of any master which might not be replaced by better specimens of the same kind.

I conceive, then, first, that if we are to have a collection illustrative of the history of the art, *the formation of it must be undertaken expressly with that view* ; secondly, that though it be desirable that all the works collected should be of the highest order—that is to say, that every master should be represented by one or more of his *best* works, yet as such works are not essential to the completeness of the collection considered as an historical series, but serve rather to enrich it as a mere assemblage of beautiful works, and are besides only to be procured at intervals more or less rare, it is advisable to complete the series at once, by such specimens as can be obtained, provided only they are genuine.

Let it not be supposed, however, that I have any idea of filling the Gallery with works which are unworthy of a place in it. I assume that the specimens purchased are the genuine productions of the masters to whom they are attributed ; and if that be the case, it may be taken for granted that there is no genuine work, however slight or unimportant, of any master of repute, which is not on some account or other, independently of its relation to the history of painting, deserving of a place in the national collection. Besides, I am only proposing to do

that systematically, and with a view to economy and a speedy result, which our Trustees have done already in a random way. They have already purchased pictures, which, though worthy of a place in the collection, can only be regarded as second-rate specimens. They have paid for them, it is true, as if they were first-rate specimens; but that is another point; it is sufficient for me to notice the fact that second-class works have been admitted into the national collection. There is, for instance, the "Magdalene" by Guido, purchased in 1840. If there were no work of Guido in the Gallery, I should never hesitate to purchase such a picture, though perfectly aware that by itself it gave a very inadequate idea of the merits of Guido. Then, again, as the Gallery possessed no specimen from the hand of Perugino, I think the Trustees acted properly in buying Mr. Beckford's picture; though I imagine there is no one who has seen the best works of that master, who will not consider him but poorly represented by the "Madonna" in the National Gallery. Even the two pictures by Raffaello cannot be regarded as other than second-rate, compared with his best productions; and the same may be said of the portrait by Gian Bellini. Yet all these are deserving of a place in the national collection; and I feel sure that a complete series of works—say by the Italian masters of the fifteenth century—composed of specimens of the same grade as the Perugino, Bellini, and Guido just referred to, would always afford ample scope for enjoyment and instruction, even were it never to be enriched by examples of a higher order.

I have stated that this proposal to complete the

series of works at once by such examples as can be procured, has the recommendation of economy in its favour ; and this I am persuaded would prove to be the case, if proper machinery were set in action for the purpose. But this touches the second point which I proposed for consideration :—What is the machinery proper for such a purpose ; is there any likelihood of its accomplishment under the present system of management ? But, first, as to the present system : What is it ?

II. So far as we can gather from the few authentic documents respecting the National Gallery which are accessible, it would appear that its government was originally intended to resemble that of the British Museum, which is thus described by Mr. Hawkins (Parl. Pap. No. 552, 1852) :—“ The theory of the Museum constitution,” says he, “ is that it is governed by a Board of Trustees, from whom emanate all orders : that these orders result from the Trustees consulting with the officers, from whom alone they derive much of the information upon which those orders are grounded : that these orders are chiefly executed by the officers to whose custody and management the different departments are confided.” If for “ officers ” we substitute “ keeper,” this account seems to apply with exactness to the original “ constitution ” of the National Gallery. “ My duties,” said Mr. Seguier (1440. Report of Comm. on Arts, &c. 1837) “ are to have the general superintendence of the Gallery ; to be called upon, upon any occasion, to give my opinion as to the value of any purchases that may be

made ; to take charge of the collection ; and to attend occasionally to admit students."

This view of the Keeper's duties, in particular with respect to the advice he might be called upon to give, is confirmed by the minutes of the Trustees during the years 1845 and 1846 (Parl. Paper, 1847, No. 40), in which I find the following resolutions :—

"3d March, 1845.

"Read, a letter from the *Rev. T. Cornthwaite*, offering to present a picture by Gaspar Poussin. Resolved, that *Mr. Eastlake* be requested to examine this picture, and report his opinion of it to the Trustees."

"Read letters, . . . . stating the particulars of a bequest, &c.

"Resolved, that *Mr. Eastlake* be requested to examine this collection, . . . . and report to the Trustees the result of his inquiries."

"7th April, 1845.

"Read, letters from *Mr. S. J. Rochard* of the 1st and 15th March, offering for sale three pictures by Holbein, Morales, and Giorgione, the first and last of which were brought to their view. Resolved, that *Mr. Eastlake* is empowered by the Trustees to negotiate the purchase of the picture 'A Portrait of a Gentleman' by Holbein, at a price not exceeding 800 guineas."

"4th August, 1845.

"Read a letter from *Mr. Buchanan*, offering to the Trustees for sale a picture, 'Susanna and the Elders,' by Guido, for 1500 guineas. . . . .

"Resolved, that considering as well the intrinsic merit of the 'Guido' now in the possession of *Mr. Buchanan*, the historical evidence of its genuineness, and its peculiar value to the Gallery, in conjunction with the companion picture already purchased



from the late *Mr. Penrice*, the Trustees are of opinion that it would form a very desirable addition to the Gallery, at the price of 1200 guineas.

“That this resolution be submitted on behalf of the Trustees to the First Lord of the Treasury by *Mr. Eastlake*.”

These quotations from the minutes of the Trustees confirm the statement of *Mr. Segulier*, that the Keeper was only to give advice when called upon to do so. It does not appear that any opinion was given by that officer on the occasion of the purchase of *Mr. Rochard's* picture, or of that of *Mr. Buchanan*, referred to in the minutes respectively of April 7, and August 14, 1845. On these two occasions, the Trustees seem to have taken the whole responsibility upon themselves; and this was attended with important consequences. They made a most unfortunate and unaccountable mistake in the purchase of *Mr. Rochard's* “*Holbein*” (so called)—a mistake which it is difficult to conceive that any persons should have fallen into who had ever seen the works of that master. The blunder, nevertheless, was committed at a tolerably full meeting of the Trustees; and, considering the turn taken by public animadversion, it became obvious that something must be done, not only to prevent the recurrence of such mistakes, but to relieve the Keeper, on whom the blame was laid, from the false position in which he was placed. It might be quite true that the Trustees were not bound to ask his opinion; but it was equally true that, in public estimation, the chief, if not the only, object to be attained by the appointment of so distinguished a man as held the office of Keeper at that time, was to secure to the Trustees, not the occasional, but the

constant benefit of an experience and knowledge of art, to which, either singly or as a body, they did not, I imagine, lay claim, and which, at all events, public opinion did not ascribe to them. It became necessary, I say, to undeceive the public mind with respect to the responsibilities of the Keeper, as well as to provide a guarantee against future effects of the incapacity manifested in the purchase of the so-called "Holbein." I find, accordingly, that the matter was taken up by the Government. The very next proposal of the Trustees to purchase a picture, viz. Mr. Buchanan's "Guido," was met by the following communication from the Treasury :—

*"Treasury Chambers, 14th Aug. 1845.*

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"*Sir Robert Peel* having submitted to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury a minute of the Trustees of the National Gallery, recommending the purchase from *Mr. Buchanan* of a picture by *Guido*, for the sum of 1200 guineas, I have received their lordships' commands to express to you their opinion, that before this purchase is effected, it will be desirable that *Mr. Segui*er should be consulted as to the condition of the picture, and that two other eminent judges of the merit and pecuniary value of Italian pictures should be requested to give their opinion as to the merit and value of this picture.

"*Mr. Woodburn* and *Mr. Farrar* might probably be selected with advantage for the purpose, or any others whom *Mr. Eastlake* might consider preferable. My Lords think it would be satisfactory that the same course should be adopted in future, when the Trustees may be disposed to recommend the acquisition of pictures for the National Gallery.

"It appears to their Lordships, that there ought not to be any permanent appointment of persons to be consulted by the

Trustees, but that the selection should be made from time to time with reference to the class of art to which the pictures may belong, and to the qualifications of the parties to be selected to judge of its value.

"I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDW. CARDWELL.

"*The Trustees of the National Gallery.*"

This document, the bearings of which I shall presently consider, was succeeded in the following year by another communication from the Treasury, by which the responsibilities of the Trustees underwent a still more remarkable modification. It was as follows :—

"*Treasury Chambers, 12th August, 1846.*

"SIR,

"The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have had under their consideration the arrangements that have been made from time to time for the appointment of Trustees of the National Gallery.

"The advantages of having the proceedings of that body conducted in immediate communication with the members of the Government, responsible for the financial measures of the country, has been heretofore obtained by the appointment to the office of Trustees of noblemen and gentlemen who have at the time filled the offices of First Lord of the Treasury or Chancellor of the Exchequer; but their Lordships consider that the object in view would be better attained by the addition of those officers of state *ex-officio* to the Board of Trustees.

"I am, therefore, directed to inform you that the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being are to be henceforward *ex-officio* Trustees of the National Gallery.

"I have, &c.

(Signed)

"C. E. TREVELYAN.

"*The Secretary of the Trustees of the National Gallery.*"

And, in the year following, the instructions given to the new Keeper, Mr. Uwins, R.A., on his appointment, contain the following *rider* over all his duties:—"I am to desire that you will place yourself under the directions of the Trustees, and conform to their orders."

The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing particulars appear to me to be these:—

First. The Keeper of the Gallery is not a responsible officer, having definite duties, for the performance of which he is accountable to the Trustees or to the public, but a mere servant, acting under the orders of the Board, who are therefore responsible for his acts.

Secondly. Whatever may have been the responsibilities of the Trustees previously to the 12th August, 1846, they have since that period ceased and merged in the official responsibilities of the Treasury.

Thirdly. For the same reason, the incapacity of the Trustees as a body to judge of the merits and value of pictures, assumed in the letter of August 14, 1845, has, since August 1846, become the attribute of the Treasury itself.

This, surely, is a most anomalous state of things. Here we have the Treasury, on the one hand, affirming, in language which cannot be misapprehended, that the Trustees as a body are not competent to give a judgment on which any reliance can be placed, on the merits and value of the pictures which they recommend for purchase; and, on the other, identifying itself with that very body: so that, in fact, either the Treasury is committed to all the acts of the Trustees, or the Trustees, as such, do not act at all. It will not, I imagine, be said



that the addition of the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being, to the Board, as *ex-officio* members, imparts to it the elements which were wanting to give trustworthiness to its previous recommendations of pictures for purchase. If not, matters remain, I suppose, as they did, with this difference: that whereas formerly the Treasury distrusted the unaided judgment of the Trustees, it now distrusts its own, and, of course, applies the same remedy, viz. reliance on the opinion of eminent cleaners of, and dealers in, ancient pictures.

This, then, is the present state of matters. The right to entertain a proposal to purchase any picture rests with the Trustees; the ultimate opinion of its merits, on which the purchase depends, is not theirs, but that of certain "eminent judges" of such points. The Trustees decide what may be, and shall be purchased, if it be worth purchasing; the eminent judges decide whether it be worth purchasing, and worth the money asked for it.

It may be said that this is an extreme and exaggerated view of the case; that the Treasury, though reposing confidence in the recommendations of the Trustees, might, nevertheless, think it desirable on several accounts to have their recommendations fortified by the opinions of eminent judges. True: but as it cannot be supposed that the Trustees would press a recommendation, in any case, in the face of an adverse opinion given by the judges they had summoned to their assistance: in other words, since they cannot make a recommendation at all without both summoning such

assistance and obtaining a favourable opinion, it is perfectly clear that the favourableness of the opinion they have obtained, not their concurrence in it, must be looked upon by the Treasury as the real warrant for adopting their recommendations.

Nor, on the other hand, is it refining too much to say that the *ex-officio* trusteeship of the heads of the financial department of the Government, not only annihilates the responsibility of the Trustees, but prevents the due exercise of the control which that department ought to have over their proceedings.

It is surely a case quite within the bounds of probability, that the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be outvoted at a meeting of the Trustees. Suppose, on the question whether a certain work of art should be—I will not say recommended to the Treasury for purchase, but purchased—for, of course, the recommendation of the Trustees and the sanction of the Treasury are, in this case, a pleasing official fiction:—supposing, I say, the heads of the financial department of the state were in the minority on such a question. What then? Are they bound by the decision of a majority of the Board, of which they are, not members merely, but members in their official capacity? If they are, what has become of their official responsibility? If they are not, what is the use of the other Trustees?

I will refer to a parallel case to show that I am not creating imaginary difficulties. It so happens that another Committee of Management, composed, like the Trustees, of distinguished individuals, was constituted

on precisely the same footing: I allude to the Council of the School of Design. In 1842, the same relations subsisted between that body and the Board of Trade as now subsist between the Trustees of the National Gallery and the Treasury. The President and Vice-President of the Board of Trade were *ex-officio* members of the Council. The consequences of that arrangement were not imaginary, but real, difficulties. If it so happened that no official representative of the Board of Trade was present at a meeting of the Council, the action of that body was completely paralyzed; if an officer of the Board was present, something more than a suspicion passed through the mind that the Council was virtually a nullity. Nothing could be decided without the presence of an officer of the Board; and if an officer were present, there was nothing decided which might not have been decided, just as easily and well, without the assistance of the Council.

Such a state of things seemed to demand the intervention of the Government; and I believe I am correct in saying that, if it had been practicable, the Council would, at the time to which I refer, have been abolished as useless, and the affairs of Schools of Design placed under a management similar, in many respects, to that which has been recently established. It was found, however, that the grant of public money for the establishment of Provincial Schools, made in 1841, had been voted by Parliament to "the Council of the School of Design;" and this, giving, as it did, a certain permanence to that body, left no alternative, but to place its action and responsibility on an intelligible footing.

Now, the extract, which I subjoin, from the minute of the Board of Trade, by which the new position of the Council was defined, points out, as an evil to be remedied, the very anomaly which exists in the case of the Trustees of the National Gallery :—

*“ Office of Privy Council for Trade, &c.  
May 4, 1842.*

“ My Lords refer to the relations which subsist between this Board and the Provisional Council of the School of Design.

“ At present the president and vice-president of this Committee are *ex-officio* members of the Council, but they have a further and independent power of controlling the decision of the Council in all the practical steps which that body may take in carrying out the design of the Government and the legislature in establishing the School; and in consequence of that peculiar position in which they are placed in respect to the Council, it is obvious that the final responsibility of the management of the School is vested in the heads of this department; but as they are at the same time members of the Council, they may in many supposable cases be in the anomalous predicament of having been outvoted, and of afterwards feeling it to be their duty, as responsible servants of the Crown, to disallow and overturn the decision of that majority; the occurrence of such a state of things could not fail to be productive of great inconvenience and confusion in the management of the institution and the distribution of any funds intrusted to it by Parliament. My Lords have therefore deemed it indispensably necessary to reconsider the composition of the governing body of the School, and to fix with more precision the relative situation and authority of this Committee and the Council; and they are of opinion that the nature and functions of the Council, the mode of managing the School of Design, and the distribution of the



parliamentary grant for the establishment of provincial schools, should be defined by the following regulations:—

“1. That the School of Design be under the *management* of a director, subject to the *control* of a Council, and of a Council subject to the *control* of the Board of Trade.

“2. That the Council consist of twenty-four members,” &c. &c.

The after history of the Council to its final extinction is equally instructive in relation to the matter now under consideration; but for this a very few words will suffice. The difficulties of this unfortunate body now assumed a new aspect; but, as before, they had their origin in the jumbling and confusion of responsibilities. The minute of the Board of Trade seemed to place the *directorship* on a sufficiently distinct and intelligible footing; but whether from a misapprehension of its real meaning, or from an unwillingness to admit its consequences in regard to the limitation of their own duties, the Council regarded the minute in that particular as a dead letter. The efforts of the individual, who then held the office of director, to disentangle his responsibilities from those of the Council were unsuccessful; and his resignation followed in about a year. His successor, less scrupulous on such a point, had no objection to any amount of practical interference on the part of the Council, and the result was precisely that which must have been anticipated. After a time the Council ceased—I will not say, to have any control over the management—but to have any management but their own to control. They were completely identified with it, and as a matter of course, when the mismanagement (which was equally a matter of course under such

circumstances), could no longer be concealed, and an inquiry took place, it was impossible for them to impute blame to the manager, without condemning themselves—they stood, therefore, and fell together.

Then followed a resort to the old expedient, with a difference. The real management was again assumed by the Board of Trade, assisted by one or two artist-members of the defunct Council. This proved equally abortive. As such a management could never be sufficiently practical without superseding the officers of the school, and must, therefore, of necessity confine itself to general business, it seemed that the assistance of the artist-members of Council might be dispensed with; and the matter terminated where it ought to have begun, viz. by the appointment of some officer, under the authority of the Board of Trade, to superintend, and be responsible for, the business of the schools.

I think, however, it is useless to disguise the conviction, which forces itself on every one who attentively considers the subject, that the inefficiency of unpaid committees of management is due to more remote causes than the mere want of properly defined responsibilities. That want is, in fact, a consequence, rather than a cause. There are radical defects in the constitution of such bodies, which press at every turn, which become more and more apparent by every successive attempt which is made to remedy them, and give rise to all those shiftings and uncertainty of responsibility, and ultimate failure, which seem to be uniformly characteristic of their history.

There is, I admit, a certain plausibility in the idea

of management by a committee. "In the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom." It seems *à priori* so unlikely, that a commission composed for the most part of individuals of high rank, distinguished by their talents, and accustomed to the administration of public business, should be unequal to *any* undertaking, that the anticipations of success in every new instance outweigh the considerations suggested by experience. It appears to be so improbable that bodies so constituted should fail of success, that, on every new occasion, we proceed as if lamentable experience had never demonstrated, in the most unmistakeable manner, that bodies so constituted *are precisely those that do fail of success.*

"Your Committee," writes the Select Committee (1837) of the House of Commons on the Record Commission, "in remarking on the defective management of past commissions, has attributed their errors, not to any particular incapacity or negligence of the individuals who composed these commissions, but to the defective principle which has pervaded the constitution of all those different bodies. *Our experience of them furnishes but one additional and almost superfluous proof of the folly of expecting efficient labour and systematic care at the hands of a numerous body, unpaid for the discharge of its duties, and occupied by other avocations of a more important, a more imperative, and a wholly foreign nature.*"

The same view was taken by the Select Committee of the Commons (1837) on Arts and Manufactures, in reference to the Trustees of the National Gallery.

1454. (To Mr. Seguier.) These gentlemen (the Trustees), if I understand you, were chosen from the eminence of their station principally?—Many of them were chosen probably from the offices they held at the time.

1456. Do you not think that a Prime Minister and other public officers of the State have too many serious public duties incumbent upon them, to be very likely to pay rigorous attention to such a subject as the management and constitution of a National Gallery?—Upon my word I think there is always a very good attendance.\*

1457. Do you think they have so much time to spare from their political and other duties as would be desirable for a person who could devote a greater portion of time to the inspection of a National Gallery and the consideration of works of art?

1459. You think their duties do not at all interfere?—No; because there are others (*i.e.* who have no such duties, and do attend).

But if it be a fact—and who can doubt it?—that a majority of the distinguished persons who compose such committees of management never attend at all, or so rarely as to make it impossible for them to take but a very cursory interest in the business to be transacted, it is quite obvious that the very ground, on which our anticipations of success were based, has slipped from under the feet. They were based on a fallacy—the

\* The following return of the attendance of the Trustees during the years 1845 and 1846, was made to the House of Commons in 1847. The number of Trustees is sixteen, three being a quorum.

|                  |     |   |               |     |   |
|------------------|-----|---|---------------|-----|---|
| March 3, 1845    | ... | 3 | March 2, 1846 | ... | 4 |
| April 7          | ... | 7 | April 6       | ... | 4 |
| May 5            | ... | 5 | May 4         | ... | 3 |
| June 2           | ... | 3 | June 8        | ... | 2 |
| June 18          | ... | 3 | July 6        | ... | 2 |
| June 30          | ... | 2 | August 3      | ... | 3 |
| August 4         | ... | 3 | August 24     | ... | 4 |
| February 2, 1846 | ... | 3 |               |     |   |



fallacy of measuring the chances of success by an aggregate of the individual talent residing in such commissions, which is never, in fact, brought to bear on their proceedings. I find, for instance, that during the two years, for which returns of the attendance of the Trustees of the National Gallery at the meetings of that body have been printed, only one-half of the Trustees ever attended at all; of those who attended, one was present at one meeting during the two years; another at two; a third at four; another at five; three others at seven, and two at eight; the whole number of meetings having been fifteen: and this I believe to be a fair sample of the attendance of such bodies.\*

There is an inevitable consequence of this. The business to be transacted falls into the hands of a minority. It may be, and probably is so in the case of the Trustees of the National Gallery, that the minority is composed of the very persons whose active exertions are the most desirable; but this is not always the case. On the contrary, experience seems rather to justify a belief that it is seldom the case. It more frequently happens, that the persons who display most activity on a commission are not only the least qualified, but such as probably would never have obtained a place in it at all,

\* The Trustees of the British Museum found it necessary in 1836-7, with a view to obviate the irregularity of the attendance of members of that body, to pass a resolution that "in future it be understood that any Trustee hereafter to be elected, not giving personal attendance at any of the meetings of the Trustees for a period exceeding twelve months, is expected to resign his trusteeship, or to assign such reasons as may be satisfactory to a general meeting of the Trustees." Printed in Sess. Paper 409. 1837.

had a more sparing appointment of members been made. But whichever way it be,—whether the active minority consists of the most or the least desirable members, its inevitable tendency is towards a certain recklessness, and a disregard of public opinion. A sense of irresponsibility is engendered by its position. Whatever its acts, it can always retreat, and find shelter behind the impenetrable front of the inert majority. Though its acts are its own, it can only be reached through the broad mantle—shall I not rather say, the insensible hide?—of the whole Commission, which covers them.

I repeat, then, that the original ground on which the peculiar advantage of management by committees of distinguished persons is thought to rest, is entirely fallacious. It is a mere delusion to suppose that the actual management and the ostensible are always, or even often, identified. In most cases, the actual management is in the hands of one or two individuals, who obtain it, not by the delegation, but by the negligence of the majority; and who, on that account, are not only liberated from the restraints which the action of the whole body would induce, but have it in their power to interpose the *inertia* of the majority as a shield against the force of public opinion.

But even these defects may be considered as accidental and secondary, compared with the radical and incurable disease of an original inaptitude, or inadequacy of a commission for the peculiar business intrusted to its management. Unhappily for the public interests, this is by no means a rare phenomenon. On the contrary, one is almost tempted to believe that there must be some

standing receipt for the composition of unpaid committees of management, which is employed in all cases, whatever be the business with which they are charged—so invariable are their ingredients—so uniformly do they exclude the very persons whose peculiar attainments and experience would seem to qualify them for selection. “It is a general remark,” says Sir Harris Nicolas, speaking of the British Museum in 1836-7, “that the position of men of science and literature in this country is very unlike their position in every other country of Europe; and perhaps the most forcible illustration of that fact is the extraordinary circumstance that, for the last forty years, they have been entirely excluded from the government of the only literary institution which is supported by parliament.” A writer in the “Quarterly Review” delivers himself in far stronger terms:—“We cannot,” says the reviewer, “blame the honourable men on whom the yoke has been imposed; we blame the meanness—shall we not add the ignorance?—of the British government, who, with a culpable indifference to the best interests of their country, have kept out of every board the only men qualified to fill them, and with false views of economy have devolved them on the gratuitous management of our nobility and gentry.”\*

But perhaps the most startling opinion on this subject is to be found in the fifth resolution of the British Museum Committee reported to the House of Commons in 1836, where it seems to be assumed that the election of such “qualified men” to the office of Trustee is to be

\* Quoted by Mr. Edwards, *ut sup.* p. 145.

looked upon *solely as an occasional honorary distinction*. It is as follows :—“ 5. That, in filling up vacancies, it would be desirable the electing Trustees should not in future lose sight of the fact that an opportunity is thus afforded them of *occasionally* conferring a mark of distinction upon men of eminence in literature, science, and art.”

According to this view, learned men, men of science, and of high attainment in art, are not the persons to whom the ordinary government of literary, scientific, and artistic institutions ought to be committed. Nay, their association with the management of such institutions is to be looked upon as accidental, occasional, and exceptional. They are to be appointed, not because their experience and attainments render them eminently fitted to impart intelligence and practical wisdom to the proceedings of such bodies, but as a favour extended with a patronising hand, for which, of course, they are to be duly grateful.

It is, perhaps, owing to the influence of these views that so little advantage seems to result from the infusion of eminent literary, scientific, or artistic knowledge into the counsels of unpaid committees of management; even when it takes place, which is not often. The persons on whom the “mark of distinction” is conferred, very naturally find themselves in the predicament of those eminent and powerful merchants elevated by Louis XIV. to the peerage, who discovered, when too late, that they had exchanged the vast influence exercised by them as wealthy commoners of the first rank, for the comparative unimportance of *parvenu* peers of the lowest.



But, as I have said, this mark of distinction is not often conferred; and the reason is very plain. A commission, whose position and authority mainly rest on considerations altogether apart from fitness for the peculiar business intrusted to it, cannot be expected to invalidate that position by the admission of an antagonistic element. A commission, composed of noblemen, statesmen, and eminent commoners, appointed to manage professional business, and selected, not on account of their special acquaintance with such business, but because they *are* noblemen, statesmen, and distinguished commoners, naturally shrinks from very close contact with the possessors of a knowledge and experience, which must inevitably override its artificial position, and, so far as the business to be transacted is concerned, prove it to be a false one.

The truth is, that a commission of this kind has, from the very outset, to contend with a difficulty which is really insurmountable. Turn where it will, it meets with an obstacle which it cannot effectually remove, without abandoning its position, and proving—that might have been taken for granted without proof—that it had been useless from the beginning. There are, in fact, no means by which the original incompetency of a board can be remedied, but such as, of necessity, at the same time demonstrate that the appointment of the board itself was a mistake. Whatever means it adopts, it cannot avoid reducing itself, virtually, to a nullity; in reality, to the position of a drag on the efficiency of the help it has obtained.

Unfortunately, however, the proof of incompetency,

derived from the indispensable necessity of assistance, has very little weight with such boards. However clear the logical sequence may be, it matters not to them; the often-repeated experiment must again be tried: how far it is possible to reconcile their position with their inability to discharge its active duties. Then follow the unhappy consequences of the experiment. In the first place, if an incompetent board obtains help from within, *i. e.* by enrolling competent persons among its members, the management either falls entirely into their hands; in which case we have the evil of an irresponsible minority, already adverted to, or they fail altogether to obtain the influence which their special knowledge and acquirements ought to exert; and this, as I have said, is more usually the case. If, in the second place, such a commission endeavours to fulfil its duties by the employment of competent persons as subordinates, an antagonism immediately starts up between the power of the assistants, based on knowledge, and the power of the commission, not based on it—between the right to govern, which knowledge and ability assert, and the possession of a merely delegated right. The tendency of the commission is, to ignore any independent responsibility in its assistants; the tendency of the assistants is, to undervalue the position of the commission, and to look upon it as a hindrance and a dead weight in the transaction of business which they could conduct, not only as well, but far better, if it had no existence. This kind of antagonism is an incontestable fact in the history of all such commissions. Its developement may, of course, be hindered, favoured, or modified, by the circumstances of each

particular case ; but even if it should never come to the worst, and assume the form of a struggle for power and pre-eminence between nominal and real authority—as is sometimes the case—it always exists, as an element of confusion, as a source of heart-burnings, animosities, and perpetual contentions—as an insurmountable obstacle to the due adjustment of responsibilities ; in short, as a never-failing spring of retribution for the treason against common sense committed by the original appointment of an incompetent board.\*

That the elements of these evils exist in the management of the National Gallery, I do not think there is the least doubt. The Trustees have, in my opinion, been in a false position from the very first. That opinion I need not say is perfectly consistent with the highest estimation of the individuals composing the board. Indeed, it is saying but little to affirm that the Trustees may challenge comparison with any corresponding number of men in any country, whether in respect to general and varied talent, or to the high education and acquirements of accomplished gentlemen ; but this is nothing to the purpose. Here was a specific object to be accomplished, to which general cultivation and enlightenment, though also necessary, were not of themselves adequate. Questions of art were to be dealt with, which required an amount of careful study, opportunities of information,

\* It will have been noticed that I have invariably termed the committees with which the foregoing observations are concerned, "*Committees of Management.*" I have been careful to do so, in order to distinguish them from "*Committees of Inquiry,*" which seem to me to be as invariably successful and useful, as *Committees of Management* are the reverse.

minute acquaintance with the monumental history of art, and the characteristics of individual artists, and a technical skill and experience, which it would be simply ridiculous, except in very rare cases, to attribute to any but professional men of high attainments. I considered it inevitable, therefore, that sooner or later the question, how the deficiencies of the Trustees in these respects were to be supplied, must be brought to a practical issue. That question, as we have seen, was raised by the unhappy blunder of the Trustees in the case of Mr. Rochard's "Holbein" (so called); and it was dealt with by the Treasury in the manner I have related.

Entertaining, then, the views which I have expressed, it will have been anticipated that I see no remedy for the inadequacy of the present board of management, short of its entire abolition. As to the remedy proposed by the Treasury, though in principle it may be defended, it was, in fact, not only uncourteous to the Trustees, but in itself most ill-judged and inconsiderate. So far as one can gather from the printed minutes, there does not appear to have been any previous communication with that body. The Order of the Treasury, dated August 14, was bluntly thrust upon them in reply to their letter of the 4th of the same month, in which they recommended the purchase of a picture; and the order itself, taken in its obvious meaning, plainly said, "You have committed an unpardonable blunder; we will purchase no more pictures on your recommendation, unless you can furnish us with satisfactory certificates of their merits and pecuniary value from certain eminent judges." If the Trustees



were to be superseded in a matter of such importance, they surely ought to have been consulted, not only as to the manner in which they might, with the greatest advantage, avail themselves of professional assistance, but as to the class of persons who were to afford it. But no discretion was left to them; and who, let me ask, were the "eminent judges" fixed upon by the Treasury? Will it be believed that not only the class of persons, but the very individuals chosen to give an opinion, on which the purchase of pictures was to depend, were those who were in the habit of offering, and *actually at the time were offering pictures to the Trustees for sale?* At the very meeting (held Feb. 2, 1846) at which the communication from the Treasury was read, I find the Trustees considering a proposal for the sale of a collection of pictures by *Mr. Woodburn*, one of the judges nominated by the Treasury. At the next meeting, held March 2, 1846, I find that "the Trustees *again* took into consideration the offer of a picture, by *Spagnoletto*, for sale by *Mr. Farrar*;" the other "eminent judge" recommended by the Treasury. So that, in fact, the "eminent judges" were by turns competitors for the patronage of the Trustees, and by turns sat in judgment on one another's wares.

Far be it from me to cast the very smallest shadow of a suspicion on the integrity of these most respectable men. No blame attaches to them; but surely this is a case, if ever there was one, in which a premium is offered for collusion, for unfairness—in short, for a partial and dishonest judgment.

No: if we are to have a committee of *experts* subor-

dinate to the Trustees, it must be composed of persons who have no pecuniary interest in its decisions. But ought we to have such a Committee? I do not say that we ought not; on the contrary, the experience of Continental nations would seem, to a certain extent, to justify the appointment of some such body. But, if so, what is the use of the Trustees? It is perfectly clear, that if such a committee be competent to decide on the merits and value of pictures selected by the Trustees, it must be equally competent—shall we not rather say, it must be far more competent?—to make the selection in the first instance. And so of all other business of an artistic kind. In short, if a committee of *experts*—by which I mean a committee similar to that which is said to exist at Berlin, “composed partly of professors of painting, of the directors of the Gallery, and of other persons who, without being artists, have made the knowledge of pictures their study”<sup>\*</sup>—if such a committee were appointed with definite responsibilities, the Trustees could not possibly have any *locus standi* between it and the Treasury; they would have come into the very predicament of the Council of the School of Design in the last stage of its existence; there would remain for them no functions which could not be discharged far better, more expeditiously, more efficiently, by some responsible officer appointed by the Treasury to superintend the affairs of the National Gallery.

I am not, it will be observed, arguing for the appointment of a committee of *experts* as a substitute for the Trustees. I am showing merely, that if the remedy

<sup>\*</sup> Evidence Comm. on Arts, &c. 1837, p. 149.

proposed by the Treasury—viz. that the Trustees should always act on the advice of competent persons : for, in principle, it amounts to no less than this—were to be fully applied,—that is to say, were a *proper* selection of persons, responsible for the advice tendered by them, to be always consulted, there would appear to be no reason why the Treasury should not consult them directly without the intervention of the Trustees.

So far, indeed, am I from wishing to propose any committee whatever in lieu of the Trustees as a board of management, that I most strongly object to the management being in the hands of a committee at all ; and that not on general grounds merely, though these also are of great weight. There are, I think, particular reasons in this case which, if they do not render the appointment of any permanent committee inexpedient, at least go the length of making it desirable to limit the action of such a body as *must* be appointed, if it be appointed at all, to mere deliberation, and the expression of opinion on points referred to it. In order to ensure its efficiency as a deliberative body, it must, in the first place, be so numerous, as to render it liable to all the inconveniences of a largely diluted responsibility ; and, secondly, be composed of a considerable number of persons whose advice would be (I will not say solely, but) chiefly valuable on those technical and professional matters in which they have attained eminence ; and if it be further considered that such a committee must be a paid one, there will appear to be still stronger reason for avoiding any arrangement that would render the demand on its services continuous.

I conceive, then, that the management ought to be vested—as it is, in fact, at present—in the Treasury ; but that, considering the nature of the business to be transacted, as it is out of the question to suppose that the heads of that department, or the secretaries, should be able, overburdened as they already are with other duties, to take more than the general responsibility, some officer should be appointed to take charge of all business relating to the National Gallery, to be responsible for the immediate management, and to whom the public should look for the success or failure of the undertaking.

To this officer I would accord full powers to adopt, subject to the approval of the Treasury, such measures for the formation of the Gallery as circumstances might render necessary. One of those measures would, I should imagine, be the nomination of a certain number of qualified persons to give advice on questions submitted to them, particularly with respect to the merits and value of pictures proposed for purchase. I say one of those measures, because it seems to me, that, considering all the circumstances under which pictures are to be obtained, it will be impossible to act exclusively under the advice of a committee sitting in London.

In the first place, it is vain to expect that the class of pictures, of which the collection, considered in its historical aspect, must to a large extent consist, will be found at public sales in this country, or in the hands of English dealers. Such pictures must be sought for : for the most part in the localities where they were originally painted. It is at least certain, that many works exist in



various parts of the Continent which it would be highly desirable to obtain for the national collection, but which, either because they are painted by masters but little known among us, and therefore held in no repute, or because, for that and other reasons, they would scarcely fetch a remunerating price to the importer, are seldom, if at all, brought to this country for sale. A large proportion of Italian, German, and Flemish works of the fifteenth century—say from 1410 to 1490—belongs to this class. This, then, is a case to be specially provided for.

Then, secondly, there is the case of sales of pictures occurring abroad: how are we to take advantage of the opportunities offered by them? If the question were only of the purchase of works of European celebrity, no difficulty would arise; but, as I have said, the collection cannot and need not be formed of these alone; and, besides, such works rarely occur for sale at all. When they do occur, no fresh judgment on their merits is required; they may be purchased on the strength of their known authenticity and established reputation. But when we travel beyond this class, how are we to proceed? The same question may be proposed with respect to those collections of pictures and individual works, privately offered for sale, which the proprietors of them refuse to send to England for the chance of their being purchased by Government. It is obvious that, in the main, little or no advantage can be taken of such opportunities, if it be ruled that the purchase of a picture must in every case depend on its approval by a committee sitting in London. This, however, is one of those very points which would have to be considered by the

responsible manager. It would be his business always to adopt the readiest, the most efficient, and most economical means of obtaining desirable works, as well as to secure the public against imposition, by employing the services of competent agents in the manner most applicable to each particular case.

Still, it may be possible to make such arrangements as would in many, perhaps in most, cases refer the ultimate choice of works for purchase to the judgment of a committee in London.\* This is certainly desirable in all cases; but I do not believe it to be always practicable; and on that account, it seems to me that there ought to be a discretion left with the responsible manager as to the choice of professional advisers in certain cases,—more particularly when the works which it is in contemplation to purchase cannot be previously brought to England.

III. In the foregoing observations on the proper object and contents of a national collection of pictures, I have confined myself to such general statements as the purpose of them seemed to me to require. It was sufficient to show that the collection must extend over the whole history of the art. If, however, any steps are to

\* I find, for instance, by the minutes of the Trustees, under date 2d February, 1846, that a proposal was made by Mr. S. Woodburn to the following effect, viz. "That in consideration of a salary of 200*l.* per annum for his brother, W. Woodburn, during a term of three years, travelling expenses included, he would offer to the Trustees, annually, a certain number of pictures, at a profit of from 20*l.* to 30*l.* per cent; and send them direct to the Gallery, leaving them there during one month for approval or rejection by the Trustees during that period." He also engages that the pictures shall not be offered for sale to other parties until the Trustees have decided.

be taken towards the formation of such a collection, a more definite and detailed scheme of its contents must be prepared. This must be the preliminary step to all future proceedings. The whole contents of the future collection must be laid down in partition—classified under general heads, with subdivisions—exhibiting both the chronological and, what may be termed, the genealogical history of the art; that is to say, showing its general progress, and its particular national, and school developements. The names of the artists being arranged in accordance with this, the comparative importance of their works in relation to the general history of art, and the progress of particular schools, might be considered, for the purpose of determining what works ought chiefly to be sought for in the first instance; and to this there might be appended a statement of the probable sizes of such works. This, I imagine, would not be attended with any particular difficulty; but, until it be accomplished—until a distinct conception be formed in detail of the purpose, the character, and the proper contents of the collection in all its parts, we are neither in a condition to proceed with intelligence in the labour of its formation, nor, which is of more immediate importance, to define the space and arrangements which are desirable for its due exhibition. The latter point, indeed, hinges entirely on the view which we take of the proper contents and purpose of the collection. If the works, of which it is to consist, are to exhibit the developement of the art in various countries, and to be distributed in such a manner as to enable the student to trace its monumental history, through successive, or contempo-

aneous national and individual schools, no argument is necessary to prove that the architectural arrangements of the Gallery ought to be, not merely consistent with those purposes, but expressly designed to serve them ; and I need scarcely observe, that this is a question which, at the present moment, assumes a peculiar importance.

Recent events, and the announcement of Her Majesty's ministers on the opening of the present session of parliament, have rendered it extremely probable that the desire long cherished by the lovers of art in this country, for a gallery worthy of the English people, will, at no very distant period, be realised. It is in the prospect of this, and because I sincerely desire that whatever is done should be done with perfect intelligence and foresight from the very commencement, that I am anxious to press on the consideration of all who are interested in the success of the undertaking, the necessity of defining with exactness beforehand the precise objects to be accomplished.

Our institutions generally, and in particular those connected more or less with the arts, have grown up too much by accident, taking the shape of some ill-defined nucleus ; or have been commenced with little more than a general conviction that such and such institutions were wanted, and ought to exist, in a country like Great Britain. What the institutions are to aim at becoming,—how they are to differ from others having similar objects,—what are to be their real nature and exact purposes,—how those purposes are to be fulfilled,—are inquiries which, if they do not always result from mistakes and mismanagement, have too frequently to be taken up



when the progress of such institutions has not only been in wrong directions, but has grown so considerable as to throw serious obstacles in the way of their reconstruction.

It is owing to this want of forethought that we find institutions virtually interfering with one another because engaged in an ill-defined or partial manner about some common purpose, which, for that reason, fails on the whole of being accomplished. An object which might be, and ought to be, assigned to one institution, is frittered away among two or three; and is, in fact, lost sight of. The general purpose is smothered in details; and materials which, if brought together, would amply subserve that purpose, are scattered hither and thither, and become practically inoperative towards the peculiar advantages which their collocation in one and the same establishment would confer.

Of the truth of these remarks, there cannot be a more striking proof than the fact that in England,—a country rich, perhaps, beyond all others in materials for such a purpose,—we neither have any single National Museum embracing *all* the arts of design, nor have we any system of co-operation between those separate institutions which might on the whole accomplish the purpose of such a museum.

The National Gallery, for example, confines itself exclusively to the art of painting. The new “Department of Practical Art”\* is limited to ornamental design.

\* I do not know who may be responsible for the nonsensical name of this new department; but I certainly think the sooner it is changed the better. At present it exists as another proof of the loose and inaccurate way in which we treat questions of art. Is

Then we have the new section of the Museum of Economic Geology partly devoted to art in its relation to certain branches of physical science ; and lastly, the British Museum ranging over the whole domain of art, but on what principle and with what view it is really hard to understand.

Now, if all the arts were distributed among these institutions according to some arrangement or plan of co-operation adopted by them, we should at least have a consistent scheme, though deserving little commendation on the score of economy and convenience ; but as yet we have not advanced far in that direction. The only evidence of such co-operation I have been able to discover lies in the solitary fact that the Trustees of the British Museum have deposited the pictures *in oil*,\* belonging to that institution, in the National Gallery. But the co-operation between these two institutions stops at that point : for the rest, each proceeds as if the other had no existence ; and this it is difficult to account for, if a real and hearty co-operation were intended at all. If the pictures *in oil* belonging to the Museum were deposited in the National Gallery, because the latter is a national establishment expressly founded for the reception of works of painting, why, one may well ask, were the works in *fresco* and the collection of portraits not also sent there ?

there any art which is *not* practical ? Is not art essentially a *καὶ ποιητικὴ* ? Is "fine art" not practical ? I understand what is meant by "practical science," but "practical art" seems to me sheer nonsense.

\* Sixty-nine pictures belonging to the Museum are deposited in the National Gallery ; and include Lord Farnborough's and Mr. Holwell Carr's collections.

If it be desirable that the Museum should avoid interference with the purpose of the National Gallery in one particular, it is surely desirable in all; and *vice versa*. How comes it, then, that both institutions are engaged in forming collections of drawings by ancient masters? It is quite clear that either the Trustees of the National Gallery, if they accepted the drawings offered to them by Lord Ellesmere and Mr. Vernon, ought to have sent them to the British Museum; or that the collection of drawings at the Museum—some of them, doubtless many of them, by the very masters whose pictures in oil have been deposited in the National Gallery—should have been sent there also.

I am not now concerned with the Department of Practical Art: but the case between that institution and the British Museum is still stronger, because it extends over a greater variety of objects. In the former instance, we have a show of co-operation in one particular, and for the rest, a real antagonism; in the latter antagonism only. Each institution is in fact collecting the same kind of objects; and it cannot be said that the collections are made for different purposes—since the British Museum has no *specific purpose* in collecting those objects which belong properly to a museum of ornamental art. I cannot, at least, discover any uniform and consistent purpose, beyond that of indiscriminate accumulation, to which the collection, not only of those objects to which I have just adverted, but (with the exception of prints and drawings) of works of art generally, can be referred. They seem to me to have been acquired because they were on the whole desirable,

as illustrations of the religion, the arts, the manners, customs, and general history of the countries and times which produced them; but I cannot discover that any attempt has ever been, or is intended to be, made, to arrange them with a view to the special illustration of any one of those particular points.

Hence it is that, with the exceptions already mentioned, there are no *artistic* collections, properly and strictly so called, in the British Museum: that is to say, there are no collections formed and arranged expressly with a view to exhibit the history and developement of particular arts. There are collections which include a great variety of objects, valuable more or less as works of art; but as the same objects are, or may be reckoned, valuable in other respects, they are not arranged with reference to any exclusive view of their value. This is a fact, of the truth of which any one may satisfy himself by referring to the synopsis of the contents of the British Museum. He will there find under some such title as *bronzes*, or *antiquities*, or *artificial curiosities*, a variety of heterogeneous objects grouped together, some of which have little or no relation to art at all; others almost solely, if not solely, valuable as works of art; and others alike interesting, more or less, to the artist, the historian, and the antiquary.

I am not here, it must be observed, simply finding fault with this warehouselike accumulation of miscellanies; for I believe that, to a great extent, it is matter of necessity. Arrange as we will, there must always remain, in any extensive archæological museum, a large



*residuum* of objects referrible to more classes than one, and many of them, besides, which it would be difficult to classify at all. What I am anxious to guard against is the supposition that something is accomplished by the collections of the British Museum, which is not only not accomplished but disregarded. I wish that we should labour under no mistake as to the fact that, with the exception of the prints and drawings, there is no collection in the British Museum which fulfils the purpose of a museum or gallery of art, viz. which exhibits the history of art by its monuments. Many of its monuments are there; but they are not made to tell the story of art. However exclusive their relation to art, they come under the general denomination of archæology; and hence it is that the ample materials for a museum of art, belonging to the nation, which are placed in that institution, are rendered *pro tanto* inoperative, because they form part of collections in which art is looked upon as a single element only in general archæology. This is a point of great importance in relation especially to the National Gallery.

In treating of that institution in the earlier part of these observations, I thought it best, for the sake of clearness, to confine myself, in the first instance, to its *single professed purpose*, and to inquire how that purpose ought to be accomplished. The inquiry, What a national *collection of pictures* ought to be? was one which might, and, in fact must, at any rate, be undertaken by itself; but there was another and larger question to be considered, not only on its own merits, but

because of its bearing on the character and arrangements of any building which it might be in contemplation to erect for the Gallery.

That question was, Whether the National Gallery ought to be confined exclusively to pictures?—whether, I mean, the collection of works of painting ought to form a separate and isolated establishment, or be a section only, of a museum devoted to *all* departments of the Arts of Design?

If this question had to be considered apart from the real or supposed possibilities of the case, the reply to it might be assumed without argument. Little or no difference of opinion seems to prevail among the most competent authorities as to the general desirableness of having all our works of art of whatever description, if not under the same roof, at least in immediate contiguity. And, indeed, it is obviously so much for the best interests of art, so conducive to public instruction and gratification, and so consistent with sound and enlarged views of the nature and province of art, that a National Gallery should exhibit the developement not of one art, or of two of them only, but of all the arts of design, that, except on the score of practicability, it is difficult to imagine any reasonable grounds of doubt on the subject.

For myself, I do not hesitate to express my hearty conviction that no Gallery can be worthy of this age, and of this nation, which does not accomplish that, *mutatis mutandis*, for Architecture and Sculpture, which I have contended, and, I hope, proved, it ought to do for Painting. In truth, there is not a single reason for

the formation of a National Gallery of Pictures which may not be urged with equal cogency for the formation of a National Gallery of Sculpture, Architecture, and their subsidiary Arts of Decoration ; and when we consider the intimate relations subsisting between all the arts, and how important it is, both for popular information, and for the purposes of artistic study, that every obstacle to facility of reference should, as far as possible, be removed, it will be conceded that there are strong grounds for treating all our collections of objects of art as the sections of one establishment, and for such a local distribution of them as shall offer the greatest general advantages, while, to practical students of art, it occasions the smallest inconvenience and loss of time.

It may well, indeed, create surprise that the foundation of the National Gallery should have taken place, seemingly, without a thought on behalf of the sister arts of Architecture and Sculpture. If (and this is probably the case) it was assumed that those arts — at least Sculpture, if not both — were sufficiently provided for by the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum, we have only an additional evidence of the indistinct and inadequate views which have prevailed among us on all artistic questions. Nothing, of course, was more likely than that those, whose ideas of a National Gallery were realised by the chance assemblage of a few good pictures, should be content, so far as Sculpture and Architecture were concerned, with a similar state of things at the British Museum. Is it necessary to say that the mistake is just as great in the one case as it is in the other ?

The subject, however, has engaged public attention from time to time. As early as 1836, I find the Committee of the Commons on "Arts and Manufactures" addressing questions to Mr. Wilkins, the architect of the present building in Trafalgar Square, which seem to assume the form of a remonstrance against the exclusion of works illustrative of Sculpture and Architecture from the National Gallery. For example:—

1182. Is that (a circular room at the rear of the building, proposed to be occupied by the Royal Academy) of ample capacity for the exhibition of works of ancient Sculpture?—I beg pardon, I mistook the question; we have no provision whatever for ancient Sculpture.

1186. And therefore you will now have in the National Gallery no place for the exhibition of works of ancient Sculpture?—None.

1192. Would it not have been an advantage to have found in the National Gallery a collection of ancient Sculptures as well as a collection of ancient paintings?—I certainly say it would; you might now, if you chose to remove the Sculptures from the British Museum; but I ought to say that *it was never contemplated to bring ancient Sculpture into this building at all. The Ministers, from whom I received my instructions, never contemplated that.*"

1193. Might you not have had a collection of casts to great advantage?—Certainly.

1196. But would it not have been of advantage to artists to have found in this National Gallery an exhibition of works illustrative of Sculpture and of Architecture?—Undoubtedly, if the light sufficed.

More recently, first in 1848, and subsequently in 1850, when the possibility of enlarging the present



building was under the consideration of Committees of the House of Commons, the question of providing space for the Exhibition of Sculpture was again agitated. The Committee of 1848 made no report; and although that of 1850 refrained from any allusion to the subject, it is evident, from the tone both of the queries and of the evidence on that particular point, that the subject must form a recognised element in any future inquiry.

In reply to a question respecting some suggested alterations in the building, Sir C. Eastlake observes,\*—

At present there is no department in the British Museum for Mediæval works, Sculpture, and Drawings by old (qq. modern?) masters; I happen to know that a work by ——— was sent to the British Museum, and the answer given was, that there was no department in the establishment for such works.

161. If a proper National Gallery were erected, would it not be desirable that the Sculptures now in the British Museum should be placed in such a National Gallery?—*I should say decidedly that the whole range of art should be under one building; I should also include casts from the Laocoon and Apollo statues, which we have not got. . . .*

162. Could the Sculptures at present at the British Museum be accommodated in the present National Gallery?—Certainly not.

163. So that a very material alteration of the structure must take place before all the Sculptures could be put into it which are now in the British Museum?—Certainly; one of those Egyptian fragments would crush the whole building.

The replies of Sir Charles Barry to the following questions of the same Committee are also important:—

\* Evidence before Select Committee, 1848, printed in Sess. pap. 612, 1850.

203. Would the Central Hall (according to the plan proposed by Sir C. Barry) be available for statues?—Yes, to a certain extent, as well as many rooms at the back, which might be made available for *such works of Sculpture in the British Museum as may be considered in the light of Fine Art.*

224. Would there be provision made for the exhibition of Sculpture?—Rooms for Sculpture might be arranged in the present building below the exhibition rooms. I think that, by means of certain alterations, a sufficient accommodation might be provided for all Sculptures in the British Museum, which may be considered as Fine Art.

226. Then you would consider it desirable in itself to unite the Sculpture in the British Museum with the other works of art in the National Gallery?—I think it most desirable. All that I would propose to transport from the Museum would be those marbles only that may be considered as Fine Art, and worthy of study and imitation in that respect. I exclude the Egyptian Antiquities and the early Etruscan or Greek Sculpture, which have more of Archæological than of artistic interest.

227. What line would you draw as to Sculpture?—I would take all Sculpture that may be considered Fine Art in its greatest excellence.

228. Would you take the Attic remains?—Yes, I would.

229. In this building, is there any room that would be equal to the room where the Elgin marbles are now?—I think there would be no difficulty in providing such a room.

230. Would it be lighted from above?—No; but it should be borne in mind, that the sculptures in question were not lighted from above in their original position; they were illumined entirely by means of reflected and refracted light.

From the evidence before the Committee of 1850, I extract the following queries and replies to the same effect:—

918. (Addressed to *Mr. Mulready*, R.A.) Looking to the purposes of the education of artists, do you think it advisable that the National Gallery should also contain a collection of sculpture?—Yes, assuredly: probably it may be more necessary if you educate from a very early period to have sculpture than painting.

919, 920. Is there room in the present National Gallery to add a collection of sculpture, if the present building were devoted entirely to the purposes of the National Gallery?—Yes; then I think a very considerable collection of sculpture, as much as we want, might be brought in.

921. With adequate light?—I am not so sure of that . . . .

922. But you think it highly desirable that the National Gallery should contain a gallery of sculpture?—I think so.

Sir C. Eastlake was again examined by this Committee. After having proposed that the National Gallery should contain a collection of drawings by the old masters, and a library of prints from their works, he proceeds:—

I think it also very desirable that there should be, somewhere in London, either at the British Museum or at the National Gallery, a collection of casts from the finest antique statues. Perhaps, wherever the fine works of sculpture are deposited would be the fittest place: wherever the Elgin marbles or other works are inspected, and a comparison is made with previously known works of ancient sculpture, it is most desirable that those examples should be on the spot, to be referred to for the sake of comparison.

515. Would you wish to bring all the sculptures from the British Museum also to the National Gallery?—No; I am not prepared to recommend that, though it might be a question whether all *works of art* ought not to be under the same roof.

516. The effect of adopting such a recommendation would

be to take the National Gallery to the British Museum, would it not?—No; I was led to recommend that there should be a gallery of casts somewhere, on the same principle that collections of prints and works on galleries should be formed, for the purposes of comparison, wherever fine works of sculpture are; and perhaps they had better be under one roof.

517. If you would recommend that the sculptures should be brought to one building, would not that, instead of bringing together works that are only valuable as specimens of art, be bringing together many that are only valuable for their antiquity?—That objection applies to all collections of art: you must begin, in order to have a complete history, from the rudest specimens of all schools.

The same subject is introduced in the examination of the next witness, Dr. G. F. Waagen, who is asked:—  
566. “Do you place sculpture under the same roof with pictures?” His instructive reply I give at length:

Yes (he says); we have two buildings; one we call the Ancient Museum, finished in the year 1830; and another building, not yet finished, called the New Museum. (These buildings are united by a corridor, about thirty feet in length.) In the first are *sculptures* of the Greek, Roman, and great Middle Ages upon the first floor; *pictures* upon the second floor; and the smaller objects of antiquity, such as *vases*, small *bronzes*, *intaglios*, and *medals* of the great Roman and Middle Ages on the area floor. Then, because we wanted to have all the objects of art together, ten years ago the new building was begun, to contain *plaster casts* from the best models of ancient sculpture, *arranged historically together from the specimens of Egyptian and Syrian art* down to those of the time of *Canova*.

\* I have inverted the sentences in this question, not only to make it intelligible, but to suit the sense in which it was understood by the witness.



In the new building is placed a cabinet of *engravings* and *drawings by the great masters*. Also, there is a museum of genuine Egyptian specimens, and the architect made a building in true imitation of the Egyptian style, and the whole appearance is quite harmonious with the objects contained in it.

There are also what we call *Kunstkammern*, for small objects of art of the Middle Ages; for instance, some *figures cut in wood* by Albert Dürer, and by Holbein, with enamels and Raphael ware, an immense treasury in that way.

Assuming, then, that both sculpture and architecture ought to form each a department of the National Gallery, the illustrations of those arts, if they are to afford complete materials for popular information, for criticism, and for artistic study, must, as in the case of painting, extend over their whole history.

In other respects the cases are not analogous. I need hardly observe, that it is not essential to a gallery of sculpture, in which the *art* is primarily had regard to, that the whole, or even any of the larger works, should be the original marbles or bronzes. Of course, it is desirable that they should; but it is not essential; because works of sculpture admit of being reproduced with great exactness in various materials by mechanical means, and, for all ordinary purposes (works, especially beyond a certain size), are adequately represented by castings in plaster.

In some cases, indeed, the merits of a work are shown to a greater advantage in a plaster cast than in the original material; as in the instance of the glazed and partially coloured pottery of *Luca della Robbia*, or

when original marbles are much discoloured, and unequally stained. At all events, it may be assumed, that a sculpture-gallery formed solely of plaster-casts, though deficient in the particular archæological interest and value which may attach to original works, and in some other respects, is, nevertheless, adequate to most of the purposes, both popular and artistic, which a collection of sculpture is intended to serve.

An obvious consequence of these views is, that the formation of such a national sculpture-gallery may be undertaken, and the series of works even completed, without any settlement of the question, whether the Attic and other remains now in the British Museum, should occupy a place in it. There is no doubt of its being desirable, that in every instance, when it can be done, the plaster-cast should be replaced or accompanied by the original work which it represents; but, looking to the main object in view, it seems to me of more immediate importance to complete the whole series of illustrations of the history of sculpture, by casts in plaster only. Afterwards, if it should be thought advisable, the originals from the British Museum can be inserted in their proper places in the series, instead of or along with the casts of them.

After all, those original sculptures in the British Museum which are solely or chiefly valuable as works of art, and suited to the purposes of the National Gallery, are by no means so numerous as it is generally supposed. Probably they would not amount to a fifth or sixth part, perhaps scarcely that, of the materials for such a collection as we ought to have; for, of course, I sup-

pose that the history of sculpture is brought down, through the middle ages, to comparatively recent times ; and although it would, I think, be a mistake if the more *artistically* valuable sculptures in the British Museum were not ultimately removed to the National Gallery, yet the absence of them would not materially affect either the character or the utility of a collection, which *must always for the most part* consist of casts in plaster.

With respect to that part of the Gallery which I have assigned to the illustration of architecture and its historical developements, a few words will suffice.

In the first place, it is obvious to remark, that architecture differs both from painting and from sculpture in this, that its history cannot be represented by actual monuments. Certain fragmentary remains, such as the details of ornament, mouldings, capitals, and the like, from the British Museum and elsewhere, would form desirable additions to the architectural department ; but it must be understood that the collection would in the main, consist of drawings, models, and casts. The character of the examples would vary to some extent with the object immediately in view ; according, for example, as they were intended to illustrate the *construction* or the *decoration* of particular buildings, or, with reference to later times, the works of particular architects ; in which case original drawings, designs, and models, might be obtained. But, in general, I assume that whether the examples consisted of plans, or sections, or elevations, or models of whole structures, or models and casts of details, they would always be adequate to the great purpose of exhibiting the developement of architecture,

both as it is a science and a fine art, in all the various stages of its history. And, perhaps, the architectural features of the apartments devoted to the illustration of architecture might be made subservient to the same purpose.

But, secondly, there is a peculiarity in the case of architecture which deserves to be specially noticed. It is this:—that the examples required to illustrate the history of architectural construction and decoration, lead us at once into the province of *practical science* and of *decorative art*; and thus the door is opened to a more extended view of the contents of a National Gallery of art.

I myself believe, and have always maintained, that we take a very superficial and inadequate survey of the range of painting and sculpture, if we overlook the various kinds of decorative art, affiliated to those two parent arts. It is, not only, a fact that the best decorators, and inventors of ornament, have been painters and sculptors, but, in the theory of art, *ornamentation* is included under painting and sculpture, as well as under architecture. Hence, in the older academies of fine art, as, for instance, in the Royal Academy of Berlin, we find professorships of “*general decorative design*,” and even classes for certain specialties which nowadays we consider proper only to schools of design for manufactures and decoration. Even if architecture were not in question, I should conceive that a National Museum of painting and sculpture would be incomplete, unless it contained a department for examples, not only of that species of mixed decorative art, which is neither purely ornamental,



nor purely ethical, but of that which is ornamental only.

But in the case of architecture, it is not a matter of opinion whether this shall be so or not. It is matter of necessity; we have no choice,—we cannot have architecture without decorative design. Nor can we have illustrations of its constructive part without involving certain branches of physical science. If the monumental history of architecture be fully exhibited, a large proportion of the examples necessary for that end, must, on the one hand, belong to decorative art, and in fact be the very models made use of to a great extent for the education of ornamentists; and, on the other, be such as illustrate the application of physical science to the art of construction.

I had written thus far when the “Second Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851” was put into my hands, and I need scarcely observe that it has afforded me sincere pleasure to find that the general scheme of a National Gallery, which I have suggested, falls in so entirely as it does with the more extended plans of the Commissioners.

I proposed to have enlarged a little on that part of the subject last adverted to, viz. the necessary connexion of a Museum of Fine Art with the purposes of institutions devoted to industrial art and to practical science; but the “Report of the Commissioners” renders any observations of mine on that head superfluous. My remarks were to have proceeded on the assumption that the *National Gallery*, or, as I shall term it, “THE NATIONAL

MUSEUM OF ARTS," was to contain the apparatus, or subject-matter of instruction rather than to be an establishment of a directly educational description, as the Commissioners propose; but, in either case, the conclusions arrived at would have coincided.

What I was going to say was, in substance, this,—that if the idea of a complete Museum of the Fine Arts involved the illustration of decorative art and of physical science in its relation to art, to an extent which, though not unlimited, is nevertheless indefinite,—if the *vanishing point* (so to speak) of such a Museum lies somewhere in the region of practical science,—one is immediately led to consider whether, as the reverse is true, viz. that practical science finds its vanishing point in the region of fine art, the true idea of a Museum of Arts would not be that which embraced the whole developement of the artist-faculty, and commenced, therefore, on the one hand, with those arts which are solely, or almost solely, dependent on *æsthetical* science, and terminated, on the other, with those which are solely, or chiefly, dependent on *physical* science. Such an institution would start at the one extreme from physical science, and at the other from fine art; and these two would meet and cross one another—the influence of each vanishing and disappearing towards the opposite extremes.

If, however, the matter be considered with reference to education, there are economical reasons which bring us to the same conclusion. And in referring to these I shall at once indicate the source of my own views on the subject, and suggest matter for consideration with respect to the future relations of the two side departments of the proposed institution.

One of the earliest measures adopted by the governing body of the School of Design was to obtain information on the character and working of similar establishments in the chief Continental states. Now the information amounted to this : first, that, in the sense in which we usually understand the term, there were no such things as Schools of Design anywhere on the Continent ;\* but, secondly, that the objects of such schools were accomplished partly by general *artistic* schools, either isolated or in connexion with academies of fine art, and partly by *industrial* institutes, in which design is regarded as one only among other means towards the perfection of manufactures and industry. The artistic studies of a School of Design (in our sense of the term), it appeared, were carried on in schools or academies for the general education of artists ; and its industrial studies, that is to say, the study of science and the processes of manufacture with a view to the application of design to industry, were carried on in schools for general industrial training. In the one case and in the other the specific purpose is merged in a general one ; and, as I have said, there are no schools which attempt, like our Schools of Design, to hold a middle place between academies of fine art and industrial institutions. All of them belong to either extreme ; they are either artist-schools on the one hand, or schools of industry on the other ; and the middle purpose of a School of Design finds its accomplishment in the one or the other, according as it inclines to the artistic or the industrial.

Now the economical reason for this is very plain. On

\* There are in France partial, but only partial, exceptions to this statement.

the one hand, it is impossible to make sufficient provision for the artistic studies of ornamentists (I use the word, of course, in its largest sense), without making it also adequate for the general education of artists. The converse is equally true; if the provision made by an academy of fine art for the education of architectural students and decorators, in ornamental art, be complete, such an academy, without in the least going out of its way, can afford the best possible elementary education to persons intending to devote themselves to design for manufactures and decoration. If, then, we separate academies of fine art from Schools of Design, we are compelled to do the very same things twice over: we must have two establishments for purposes which one would serve:—as has, in fact, happened in this country. If we make one establishment serve, it must, as a matter of course, be primarily an academy of fine art, and secondarily a school for the education of ornamentists.

So, on the other hand, the industrial training necessary for the purposes of a School of Design, to be really efficient so far as it goes, must range beyond any actually definable necessity for it, and involve, therefore, an apparatus and means of instruction, which are capable of being turned to a much larger account. This case, in fact, is quite analogous to the previous one. In order to accomplish a specific purpose, you are obliged to proceed as if that purpose were a general one. And conversely, if complete schools for general industrial training are instituted, they must include the branches of instruction necessary to persons who are to prepare designs for industrial purposes. Hence, in this case as in the other, the specific purpose is included in the general one.



These remarks, it must be understood, are not made with any view to cut away the ground from under the "Department of Practical Art" (as it is termed), but merely to show the extent of ground covered by any establishment, which is to deal with art in its fulness and wholeness. At the same time, it must not, I think, be disguised that, if we are to construct our institutions, connected with art, on an intelligible system, and to get rid of that "dispersed and fragmentary way" of proceeding to which Dr. Playfair justly objects, there are serious questions for adjustment, if not between the Royal Academy and the Department of Practical Art, at least between that department and the proposed Department of Practical Science. And I will venture to add, that no one has a better right than myself to speak on such a point. The system adopted by the present intelligent Superintendent of the Department of Practical Art is only a restoration of that originally proposed and established by myself in 1838, and which had been gradually abandoned subsequently to 1843, when I ceased to have the superintendence of the schools.

That system, however, proceeded altogether on the supposition that the School of Design was to be an isolated establishment, complete within itself. This being assumed, there was no course but to reverse the order of things which Dr. Playfair says exists abroad; and instead of making the "School of Design form part of a School of Industry," to make a School of Industry form part of the School of Design.\* That scheme, I say, was

\* Dr. Playfair seems to write as if the information afforded in his recent lecture on the industrial education of the Continent was now given to the public for the first time; and, as if the

imposed by the necessities of the case. If there had been in existence any Industrial School, between which and the School of Design it might have been possible to establish relations, need I say that the working of the system would have been modified accordingly?

But to return. Such, Sir, are the considerations which suggest themselves to me respecting the formation of the National Gallery and its management. On the latter point, the remarks made with reference to the pictorial department of the Gallery will admit of a more extended application. Whether the Gallery is to contain pictures only, or to include, besides, illustrations of sculpture and of architecture, the same general scheme of management, seems to me desirable:—the whole collection ought, by means of an officer appointed for that purpose, to be under the immediate control of some one department of the Government, without the intervention of any committee.

It might, perhaps, be satisfactory if, at the outset, a Commission of Inquiry were appointed, with a view to determine all the objects to be accomplished, and to obtain such information of a preliminary kind, as would

errors of our Schools of Design had arisen from the want of such information. He must permit me to set him right on that point. If he will take the trouble to refer to a Parliamentary Paper (No. 98, 1840), he will find that the principle proposed by me for the organisation of our School of Design was based on an acquaintance with the Prussian and Bavarian systems of technical and industrial education (the patterns of other and more recent systems), which his late researches have not rendered more complete, even in details which were secondary to my purpose.

afford data for the construction of a proper and efficient machinery for the formation and permanent management of the collection.

But, after all, I believe that an inquiry of this kind could only terminate in the recommendation of some such general scheme as I have ventured to suggest.

In the first place, though it was expedient, under the circumstances, to enter at some length on the insufficiency and inconvenience of unpaid committees of management; yet there are probably few persons, not members of such committees, who are not already convinced, that management, by an unpaid committee, is an administrative mistake. Public opinion has been gradually assuming the form of a settled conviction, that no National Institution can be duly administered, either by unpaid officers, or by a mode of management, which leaves it uncertain on whose shoulders the responsibility of management rests.

Then, secondly, with respect to the proper contents of the National Gallery, I suppose it would be found that there is just as little real difference of opinion. The view I have taken is not even new in this country; for the most part, all I have done has been to gather into a focus the scattered rays of information and opinion, which already existed, in a converging direction.

In conclusion, I will only add, that these observations are submitted to the consideration of your Royal Highness, with a hearty conviction, that, if the period is now at hand, when the subject of them is likely to meet with the attention which it merits, the nearness of that

period has been mainly due to the singular intelligence and practical wisdom which have marked the intervention of your Royal Highness in the cause of science, of art, and of industry. But a very few years ago, such a general idea for the formation of a National Gallery, as I have shadowed out, would have been regarded as a mere theory, and placed at once on the shelf among the records of desirable, though impracticable, schemes. A sounder appreciation, however, of the relation borne to industry both by science and by art, which has been the result of the exertions of your Royal Highness, as well as the new circumstances to which they have given rise, have prepared the way for entertaining the question on its own merits; and I have every confidence, not only that it will be so entertained, but that the unbounded influence of your Royal Highness,—an influence based on the rare union of genius, talent, and almost universal acquirements with exalted rank, and invariably exerted in a manner at once the most graceful and princely,—will, in this instance, be followed by the same beneficial results which have always attended its exercise.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Royal Highness's

Most obedient, humble, and devoted servant,

W. DYCE, R.A.



## POSTSCRIPT.

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It would have been out of place, in a paper like the foregoing, to make any attempt to define the particular architectural arrangements to which such a Museum of Art, as is therein contemplated, would give rise ; but I shall append here some observations extracted from a document which has not yet been printed, and which may prove useful when those arrangements, so far at least as the due exhibition of pictures is concerned, come to be considered.

The document I refer to is a Report drawn up, in 1840, by Sir Charles Eastlake and myself for the Oxford delegates, on the suggestion of Mr. Cockerell, R.A., respecting the suitableness of the proposed Taylor and Randolph Galleries for the exhibition of pictures. The remarks which I shall quote were afterwards, in substance, printed in a letter, addressed by Sir C. Eastlake to Sir Robert Peel ; but as that letter has been long out of print, and cannot be procured, I need make no apology for placing on record such parts of the Report as bear generally on the question of the arrangements best calculated for the exhibition of pictures :—

“1. With regard to the light. This must be assumed to be sufficient, and, rather abundant in quantity. If the aspect be exposed to the sun, the glass of the window must be ground (or otherwise rendered in a certain degree opaque) on the inside. If the outer surface be ground the glass collects dirt sooner, and is cleaned with difficulty.

2. The light in relation to the spectator. The window or source of light by which a picture is seen, and the picture itself, ought not to come within the range of vision at the same time. The spectator should even, if possible, see nothing brighter than the lights of the picture; and, on this account, it may be observed, a superabundance of burnishing on frames is objectionable, especially for old pictures,—the tone of which has been lowered by time, or, which possibly may not, when painted, have been intended to be framed in the modern manner.

3. The picture in relation to the spectator. With regard to this, the general rule is, that the spectator should be opposite the centre of the picture, so that the axis of vision may be perpendicular to the plane of the picture. To meet this condition, pictures hung above the level of the eye must be inclined forwards, so that when the eyes are raised, the relations above mentioned may take place. An exception to this rule must be made for pictures by some old masters, particularly of the Venetian school, which have been originally placed at a considerable height above the eye, and hung perpendicularly. In this case, the artist not having had it in his power to incline the picture forwards, has been obliged, in order to make the representation true when seen from below, to design the objects in the picture with an inclination backwards to the same angle as the canvass ought to have leaned forwards.\*

4. The relation of the light to the picture. The surfaces of pictures being more or less polished, reflect light under the same conditions as other polished surfaces; and it is hardly

\* On re-consideration, I am not inclined to attach much weight to this point.—W. D.

necessary to say, that the avoidance of this must be one of the chief considerations in determining the relative situations of the light, the picture, and the spectator.

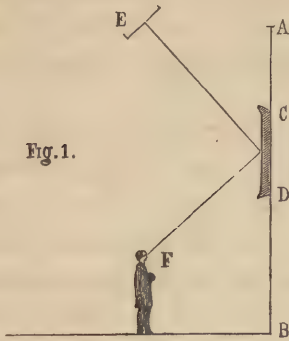


Fig. 1.

To explain the various modes of accomplishing this :—Let A B be a wall, C D a picture hanging against it, and E a skylight. If the spectator's eye be at F, the picture will reflect the light from above.

But let the picture C D be inclined forwards, and the spectator will then be quite free from the range of the reflected light G H.

This inclination of the picture forwards, it will be observed, is in accordance with the general condition No. 3, stated above.

For large pictures, which, on the grounds stated above, ought to be hung perpendicularly, the same result may be obtained by raising the light higher, or by the removal of the spectator to a greater distance, or by his approaching nearer, as the case may be.

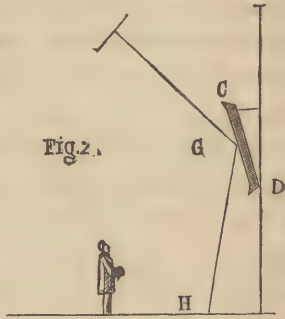


Fig. 2.

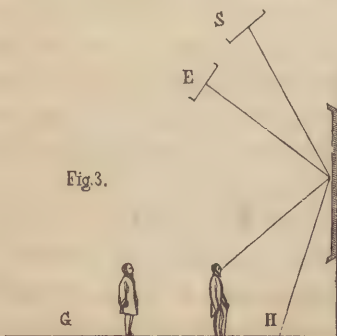


Fig. 3.

For instance, if the skylight be raised to S, the ray which was reflected on the spectator's eye at F, would be thrown on the ground at H. Or if the spectator moved backwards to G he would be beyond the range of the reflected ray. The safest remedy, however, in this case,

is to raise the light.

Connected with this point, there is another of great importance, which is, that the stream of light on a picture should be obtained as nearly as possible from one source,—double lights being generally unfavourable to the right effect of pictures, even supposing other conditions fulfilled.

It must be borne in mind, also, that the principle which we have illustrated by the supposition of a (more or less) vertical light, is also applicable to a (more or less) horizontal one. It also holds good, and this is seldom taken into account, in regard to minor or secondary sources of light. Thus a skylight throws considerable light on objects immediately under it; and though a picture may not reflect the direct rays, its true effect is often injured by reflections from strongly lighted objects, such as the floor of a room, dresses of spectators, &c. Small pictures, hung on a level with the eye, most frequently suffer from this cause. They are necessarily of a smoother surface than large ones; and being generally highly varnished, they not only act as mirrors, but being hung at a considerable distance below the source of light and receiving its rays in a very slanting direction, they are less strongly illuminated than the objects more immediately under the light which are reflected from their surface: an evil which may be seen in its worst form in galleries where small oil-pictures are covered with plate-glass.

Nor does it seem possible to avoid this inconvenience if large and small pictures are exhibited in the same room by a light from the ceiling. If the window is smaller than the picture it must be regarded as a focus, a certain distance from which is necessary to allow the rays to spread themselves and become equally diffused over the surface to be illuminated. Hence, the larger the picture, the greater its distance ought to be from the source of light; the proper distance, if other conditions are complied with, being the point at which the greatest intensity of light may be obtained consistently with its equal diffusion.

Now the very reverse of the arrangement suggested by this rule, must take place in large galleries lighted from the ceiling.

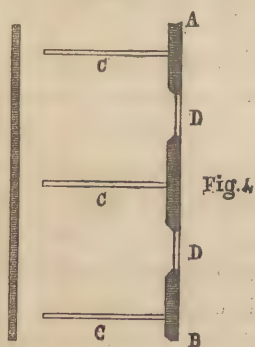


In these the light is generally, and indeed must be, adapted to the larger works, which accordingly, are seen to advantage; while the smaller, which, for technical reasons, ought to be the most strongly illuminated, being hung at the level of the eye, receive the weakest and most oblique rays, and suffer in their effect, not only for want of direct light, but from being necessarily placed in a situation to reflect the secondary lights from objects surrounding them.

This disadvantage may be remarked in the Gallery of the Louvre, in which the small pictures have generally a dim and blackish appearance.

In galleries of more recent date, attempts, therefore, have been made to obviate these defects. In the Royal Museum of Berlin and in the Gallery for Modern Exhibitions at Dresden, lighting from the ceiling has been altogether abandoned; and all pictures large or small are lighted by side-windows similar to those used by artists in their studios.

The Gallery of Berlin is a long, narrow room, having windows, of the kind alluded to, at certain intervals; and, between every two, there is projected from the wall a screen, on both sides of which the pictures are hung. The subjoined sketch will explain this arrangement more clearly.



A B is the wall pierced by the windows; D D and C C C are screens.

This plan offers several advantages, but it does not meet every condition. It is possible thus to bring small pictures near the light and to remove the larger ones farther from it; and from the position of the windows the condition stated in No. 2 is sufficiently complied with. But if a pic-

ture is of large size, it must be removed so far from the light, in order that it may be equally illuminated, that the rays fall on it in too slanting a direction; and thus if its surface be rough,

as is the case with many old pictures painted on canvass, a number of minute shadows are thrown, which have the effect of generally darkening its hue. Nor, in truth, is it possible by this arrangement to obtain an equal light over all parts of a large oblong picture, say twelve or fourteen feet long; for the light must be much more intense at the one end than the other.

The most obvious contrivance for getting rid of this difficulty is that adopted in many private collections: the picture is swung on hinges like a door, and hence it may be turned towards the light. But this is hardly applicable to very large works; the same result, moreover, may be obtained by more simple means. Were the screens, instead of being at a right angle to the wall, to be doubled and inclined forwards to the window, every condition would seem to be complied with for works of moderate size. In the subjoined sketch, A A are the windows; B B B B, double screens inclined in the way above described. The portions C D, C D, of the screens would be imperfectly lighted; the passage, therefore, from one compartment to another, might be made here. This part of the plan has been adopted in the Pinacotheca of Munich.

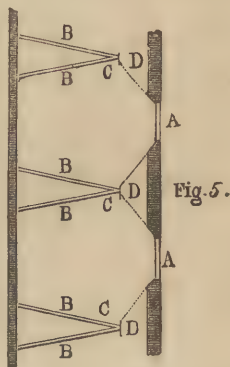


Fig. 5.

Since this improvement in the arrangement of the Museum of Berlin suggested itself, we have learnt that a Prussian artist, Magnus, has published a pamphlet recommending this very mode.

He suggests its application in narrow galleries, lighted on

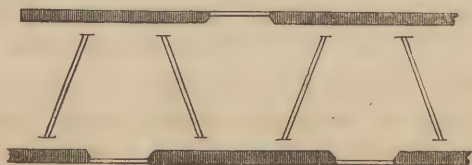


Fig. 6.

both sides, by which means the screens need not be doubled. In this case, however, it would be necessary to make the screens higher than the windows, otherwise the lights would cross.

The general principle of this and the foregoing arrangement would at once be accomplished, and indeed, is unavoidable in a circular gallery with screens. The very portions of the screens which, it was seen, were imperfectly lighted in the first method, are here cut off by the curvature of the wall.



Still it does not appear that any modification of the plan of lighting from the side can supersede the advantages of a light from the ceiling for very large works.

The light must always be higher than the picture, and commence at such a height as to prevent the reflected light from objects on the ground outside the windows from falling on the upper part of the picture or screen. If a picture, therefore, is eighteen or twenty feet high, and rests on the floor of the room, it ought to have a light reaching at least five or six feet above it, and commencing at the height of fourteen or fifteen feet; or if a picture of this class be hung higher, and this is generally necessary in any gallery, and especially in one on the

plan of that of Berlin, in order to obtain the distance at which it ought to be viewed, the light must be so elevated as to do away with the comparative advantages of it as a side-light for cabinet pictures.

The objection, too, above stated, to a side-light for oblong pictures of a large size, does not hold good in the case of a light from the ceiling ; on the contrary, it is rather an advantage that the light should fall more strongly on the upper part of a picture than the lower, because in this the sky, or lightest part of the scene depicted, is almost always placed.

But besides this, there are some considerations connected with the general arrangement of pictures in a gallery which seem to be in favour of a separation of large and small works. In the first place, pictures of the *same school* are now generally thought to be seen most advantageously when placed together ; not only for pictorial reasons, but because in this way the history and progress of schools of art may be studied with greater benefit. If this plan of arrangement be adopted, it naturally gives rise to the division of pictures into sets of small and large ones. The easel pictures, for instance, of the early Italian schools previously to the latter half of the fifteenth century are generally of small size. After that period to the middle of the sixteenth century they are, with the exception of those of the school of Ferrara, mostly large. Coming lower down we find the works of the Bolognese, Spanish, Neapolitan, and Flemish schools, with some exceptions, large ; of the Dutch school, generally small. We see the justice of these observations in the case of the Pinacotheca of Munich. The chief part of the Bavarian collection of pictures was formed before the gallery was built to receive it ; and the very character of the works of which it consisted made the adoption of two modes of lighting the rooms necessary.

But, secondly, pictures of the *same size* are not only best seen together, but large ones appear to most advantage in large rooms, and small ones in rooms which prevent the spectator



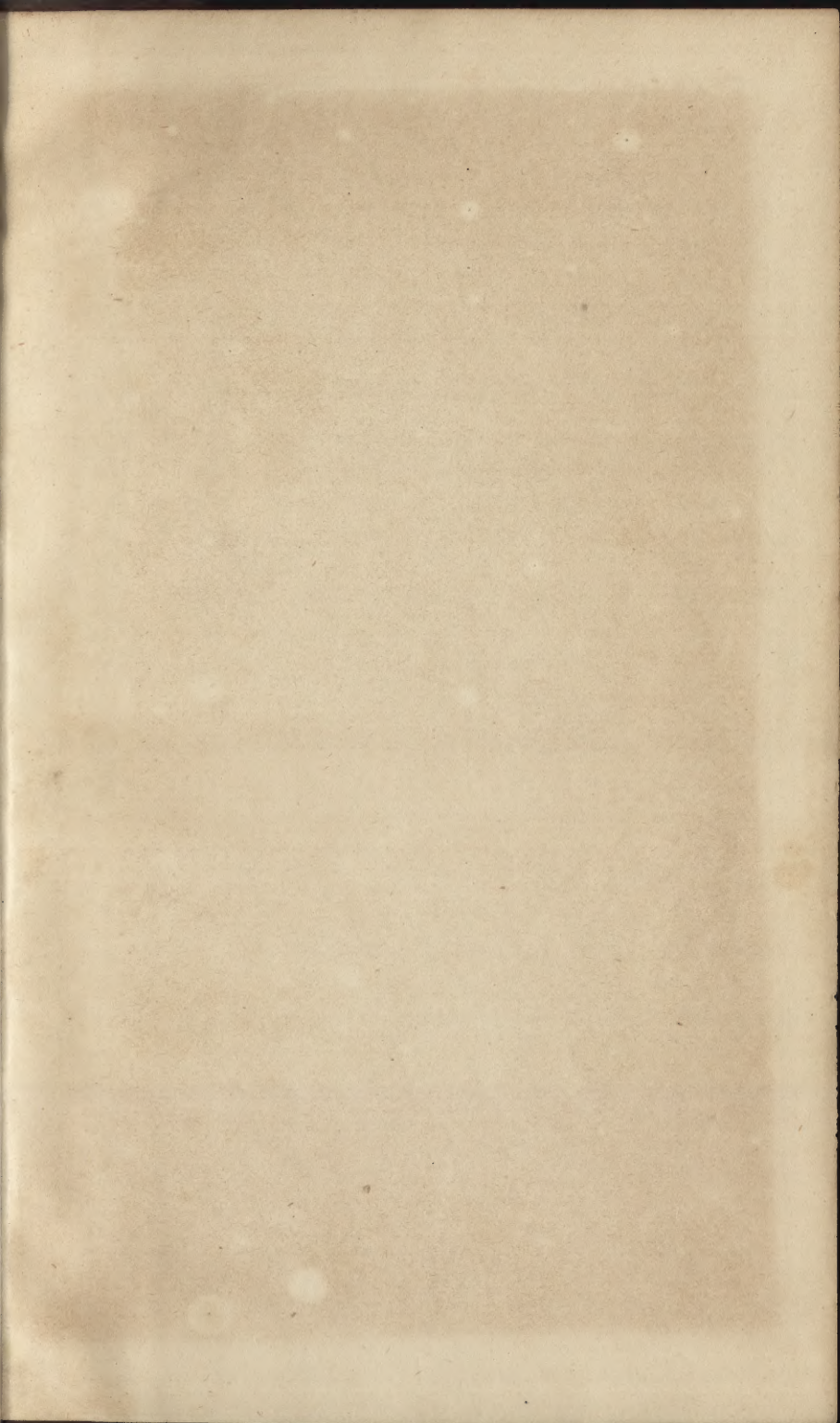
from seeing them beyond a certain distance. Nor is there any doubt that the vicinity of large pictures is, on the first view, and even permanently, injurious to the full effect of small ones.

If a gallery, therefore, is intended to exhibit, in the best manner possible, the real developement of art in all its forms, it is desirable that every circumstance which tends to diminish the importance or conceal the merits of any one class of pictures, should be carefully kept out of view. On the whole, then, supposing the general conditions fully complied with which we have assumed to be necessary to any effective display of pictures, it would seem that to adapt a gallery for the exhibition of works of all sizes, more than one mode of lighting must be employed."

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